The COMMUNIST

APRIL

LESSONS OF THE MOSCOW TRIALS

EARL BROWDER

World Fascism and War — WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Review of the Month — A. B.

May Day—In Peace or War? — ISRAEL AMTER

Draft Convention Resolutions

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The COMMUNIST

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Destruction of Bloc of "Rights and Trotskyites" Renders Great Service to Anti-Fascist Camp. Crime and Ideology. New Angles and New Lessons. The Mechanics of Fascist Espionage. Expose Role of Fascist Intelligence Services. Bad Jokes of Reactionaries and Waverings of Some Liberals. On Those Who Would Accept Socialism but Without the Struggle. Fascism Has To Be Defeated at All Costs. Isolationism Is in Crisis. The Evolution of Coughlin's Isolationism. Investigate Japanese "Propaganda." Do Not Let the People Down in the Crisis. Its Course and Peculiarities. Big Business Threatens More Mass Dismissals and Direct Wage Cuts. Fight to Protect Masses from Effects of Crisis at Expense of Monopolies. A People's Program. Lessons of Seattle. Wanted: Unity of Democratic Camp Behind One Candidate for Each Office. A Minimum of Labor Unity. Party Convention Discussion and Party Building. Coming May Day.

THE exposure, condemnation and destruction of the gang of spies and fascist agents, known as the bloc of "Rights and Trotskyists," render an inestimable service to the working class movement of all countries, to the cause of peace and democracy everywhere. No amount of misrepresentation can hide for long this fact. It is our duty as part of the American working class, as front line fighters against fascism and war, to make this fact known and understood by the widest masses of our people.

It no longer needs to be argued that the cleaning out of these nests of fascist spies and terrorists from the Soviet Union has world importance and significance. This is by now quite evident. It is hardly possible to maintain any longer that the extermination of these traitors and agents-provocateurs by the Soviet government is merely "a Russian affair" of no consequence to the peoples of other countries. Pretty nearly everybody is now willing to admit that there are world consequences. Only. . . . Only what are these consequences? Here the apologists for reaction and fascism, the open and hidden agents of the fascist powers in our own country and labor movement, are now trying their utmost to misrepresent the meaning of these trials, to make them appear as being harmful to the democracy and peace of the world. And, as in many other instances, a number of faint-hearted and confused "liberals" tend to fall easy prey to the machinations of the enemy.

Perhaps it is worthwhile noting one

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particular change in the attitude of the capitalist press as a whole to what they like to refer as "the Moscow trials." They—the capitalist press—no longer pretend to be "mystified" by the confessions of the fascist gangsters—the Bukharins, Rykovs and their like—facing the Soviet court. Obviously it is no longer possible to attack the trials successfully by throwing doubts upon the genuine truth of the facts disclosed there. *The truth of the exposures cannot be contested.*

Let us remember that. With the exception of the head man of this gang of fascist spies and provocateurs, Trotsky, and all those who "work" with and for him, with the exception of these, hardly anyone dares to deny outright the truth of the charges. It is impossible any more to make flat denials regarding the facts as brought forward by the indictment, by the examination and by the testimony. The facts stand. And these facts prove to the hilt the correctness of what Comrade Vyshinsky said:

"This trial sums up the results of struggle against the Soviet state and the Party of Lenin and Stalin waged by people who wore masks throughout their lives, who commenced this struggle long before the present time, who, under the guise of the loud phrases of the provocateurs, served not the revolution and the proletariat but counter-revolution and the bourgeoisie by means of deception, hypocrisy and double dealing."

Like a petty thief and criminal caught red-handed, Trotsky cries: "You've got nothin' on me" and "I tell you, I didn't do it." Which is natural, of course. What else should he say?

Similarly with the Lovestoneites. Moved apparently by a guilty conscience, and feeling quite evidently somewhat panicky, they rush to the public with statements and declarations as though they themselves were formally on trial. "We weren't there; we were somewhere else at the time," they say in effect, which looks pretty much like trying to build up an alibi. Still moved by growing panic, the Lovestoneites issue a loud claim that "We had nothing to do with Bukharin" as though their names were in the indictment. "Yes," they say in substance though not in these words, "We liked Bukharin and we like Trotsky, and we may have been a bit friendly with Bukharin in the past, but that does not mean that we have the same ideology that he has. Our ideology is of our own making."

But this whole business of a Trotsky and Bukharin "ideology" has to be looked at from a somewhat *new angle*. What sense is there in talking about the "ideology" of spies and provocateurs? One of the important disclosures at the trial of the bloc of "Rights and Trotskyites" was precisely this that all of them were spies and police agents. We quote from Vyshinsky's summary:

"Trotsky has been connected with the German intelligence service since 1921 and with the British intelligence service since 1926. Bukharin and Rykov, through their accomplices, were connected with a number of foreign intelligence services whom they regularly served."

Of course, they were fulfilling a "social" function. They were operating on the side of the oppressor against the working class and against the people; they worked for the restoration of capitalism, but in the capacity of police spies and agents-provocateurs. Said Vyshinsky:

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"Both the Trotskyites and Rights reflect pressure of the capitalist elements who are resisting the successes of socialism and have no intention of leaving the historical arena peacefully and quietly. They both acted on the orders of the same masters sitting on the general staffs and intelligence services of foreign countries hostile to the Soviet Union. The Trotskyites and Rights many years ago had turned into henchmen of bourgeois counter-revolution."

Of course, Bukharin and others of the gang, but especially Bukharin, tried to hide himself under an "ideological" and "philosophical" cover; but the trial has proven conclusively (in the words of Vyshinsky) that Bukharin especially "was one of the super-bandits of Trotsky's gang."

One of the most important lessons of this trial for the workers and progressive forces of all countries is this: behind the mask of those so-called "ideologies" which are proved to be in the interests of the people's enemies, in the interests of reaction, fascism and war—behind the mask of these "ideologies" will be found spies and agents-provocateurs of the fascist and pro-fascist forces, spies and provocateurs that parade in public as representatives of certain "ideologies." Such will be found today everywhere in the labor movement and in all the other movements fighting for democracy and peace. Reaction and fascism make sure that their agents penetrate these movements in order to obstruct the consolidation of the democratic front, in order to prevent the building up of true working class unity, in order to demoralize the growing movement for concerted action to restrain the fascist aggressors, in order to obstruct the mutual assistance between the workers of the capitalist countries and of the Soviet Union.

When we say that reaction and fascism send their agents into various progressive mass movements to obstruct their growth, we mean that they send in *spies and provocateurs,* we mean *paid agents of Hitler and Japan,* paid agents of the intelligence services of these fascist powers and of others who are working with these powers. Some of these agents will be working as "ordinary" spies, collecting and transmitting information to the enemy general staffs and intelligence services; others will be functioning mainly as "propagandists" for the enemy; while still others will be doing both "propaganda" and espionage.

Remember that we are talking of spies and provocateurs working on behalf of the general staffs and intelligence services of Hitler, Japan, other powers who work with these, and the pro-fascist cliques in our own country. Among these paid agents there is usually a coordinated division of work: some do only espionage, wrecking and diversion; others do "propaganda," "ideological" work; and others do both. This is what the American working class and the whole camp of democracy and peace must realize and take measures against on pain of great suffering and loss.

The "propagandists" and "ideologists" in these gangs of spies and provocateurs may be parading under various guises, depending upon the character of the people whom they seek to confuse. Thus in some places, these fascist agents will be seeking more or less directly to create sympathy for the fascist powers and their aggression on the plea that the "have-nots" are trying to get something from

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the "haves," that Hitler and Japan are merely trying to do now what British and American imperialism have done in the past. It all sounds very equitable, just and objective and "incidentally" is just the kind of propaganda that the general staffs of Germany and Japan are paying for to some of these propagandists.

This does not mean of course that *everyone* making such propaganda for the fascist aggressors is necessarily a paid agent of their intelligence services. Not necessarily. There may be volunteers. There may be such as do not fully realize that they are *in effect*, regardless of their wishes, working for the general staffs and intelligence services of the fascist aggressors. Personal intent makes no difference; it is the result that counts, it is the result for which the masses may have to pay with their well-being, liberties, blood and very lives. It is the result for which the masses of Spain and China are already paying.

But we mean to say *much more* than that. We mean to say that *behind all propaganda favorable to fascist aggression one way or the other, behind all "ideologies" which militate against the camp of democracy and peace and thus promote the interests of the camp of fascism and war, behind all these there is the conscious manipulating hand of the fascist powers and their collaborators operating through a host of spies and provocateurs within the labor and progressive movements, operating under various guises and by various methods, including espionage, wrecking, terrorism, diversion, propaganda and "ideology."*

This is one lesson to be learned from the trial of the Bukharin-Trotskyite bloc. A lesson to be learned, mastered and applied in our struggle here against reaction, fascism and war.

Another lesson is this: in all the ramifications of fascist and pro-fascist espionage, which must be widespread, *the Trotskyist division is the most dangerous for the labor and progressive movements everywhere.* In the United States, we are dealing with *Trotsky-Lovestoneite gangs* since the two are working for the same ends, in similar ways, though not always with identical methods. The specific danger of the Trotsky-Lovestoneite gangs is that they operate with "Leftist" slogans, that they are masking themselves with proletarian and revolutionary ideologies. The head man of these agents of fascist espionage never fails to declare that he does it all "in the name of the world revolution." But the mask is now off *completely*: since 1921 Trotsky was working with the intelligence services of bourgeois counter-revolution. This should help to unmask fully the agents and collaborators of Trotsky in the United States—the Trotsky-Lovestoneite gang.

It is now clearer than ever before why the Trotsky-Lovestoneite agents of fascism represent *a splitting and demoralizing element* in every organization to which they manage to gain access. We must therefore redouble our efforts to expose the role and policies of these elements, to prove to the masses that these agents of fascism must be relentlessly driven out of all working class organizations, that they must be *isolated* from the forces that are moving to the camp of democracy and peace. Only thus will an effective

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fight be carried on against fascism and war.

* * *

MANY are the comments and conclusions on the trial of the "Right and Trotskyite" bloc in the press of the country. And necessarily so since this was an event of world significance.

Sensing that the exposure and extermination of the Bukharin-Trotskyite nest of spies are *strengthening* the Soviet Union and the camp of peace and democracy everywhere; realizing fully that a mighty blow has been delivered at the world offensive of fascism on many fronts and that the cause of the world proletariat has been rendered a historic service, bourgeois reaction and fascism in this country finds it evidently very difficult to express adequately its position on the matter. And so we find a rather mixed and contradictory reaction in the capitalist press.

Some of their comments can be dismissed as bad jokes. For example, when the mouthpieces of reaction and Hearst "deplore" the trial on the ground that it "weakens" the Soviet Union, we know it is a joke because, if that were really so, these papers would be jubilating and triumphing. But as a matter of fact they do no such thing because they know better. Rather we find an undercurrent of impotent rage that the Soviet Union is strengthening itself, that there is a country in the world which can and does make short work of the agents of fascism, a country which Hitler and Japan can neither bluff nor terrorize.

Or some other bad jokes: when Hearst & Co. bemoan the tragic fate of "old revolutionists," when this same gentry sheds tears over the "disrepute" into which Communism is being brought by these trials. It is a sight for the gods to watch reactionaries and fascists defend the "honor" of Bukharin and Trotsky and to perpetuate them as "true revolutionists."

Rather serious is the condition into which some liberals are getting themselves, a condition which threatens to make them helpless victims and *helpers* of the nefarious schemes of fascism. These liberals are shocked at the whole business and are shocked so deeply that very often their speech is not very articulate: it is simply hard to make out what exactly they want. All we can discover is a set of exclamations: Why should there be in a socialist country fascist agents and spies and murder? Why should there be in such a country trials and executions and bloodshed? Why all these brutalities and shocking things in a country which claims to have established socialism, and twenty years after the revolution?

Why? This is not a caricature of some of the liberal writings but their quintessence. And the most charitable and just approach to answering these peculiar questions is in our turn to ask a question or two of these liberals. It is this: isn't it a fact that through the whole of these twenty years you were continually *vacillating and hesitating* between accepting and rejecting the socialist revolution? It is.

Isn't it also a fact that, when things seemed to go well with the socialist revolution, you inclined towards accepting it; but at the first sign of difficulty and trouble, you at once began to waver away from accepting it? That is a fact too.

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Finally, isn't it true that, even when inclining to accept the socialist revolution, wholly or in part, but mainly in part, you were ready to accept the achievements of the revolution but not the hard work and struggle which made these achievements possible; you were willing to admire and give sometime passive support to the *results* but not to the bitter fights which alone made possible these results? This also is a fact.

This being so, we venture to make the following assertion. We venture to say that your present "questionings and soul-searchings" are nothing else but one of your periodic waverings and vacillations *which arise from the pressure of the world offensive of fascism and from the bitter fight that has to be put up to counteract and defeat this offensive and that as soon as the results of this bitter fight against fascism become tangible enough for you to see them, you will again begin to incline (if you remain genuine) towards accepting the achievements and the victory.*

However, one more thing has to be said: in the course of their present waverings, many a liberal runs the risk of becoming a helpless victim and helper of fascism, though unwilling. This is the great danger in which these liberals find themselves at the present time. We must help them to escape that danger if possible.

Yes, the struggle against fascism and its agents is not a very pleasant thing. And those who do the real fighting know this best. But the fascist world offensive is here *and it has to be defeated at all costs.* And as to the job being unpleasant, we could say with Stalin:

"I would like unpleasant things like capitalist encirclement, the danger of military attack, the danger of the restoration of capitalism, etc., to be things of the past. Unfortunately, however, these unpleasant things still exist." (Letter to Ivanov.)

* * *

THE American League for Peace and Democracy is to be congratulated on its statement (March 10) which calls for concerted action against the fascist aggressors. The League can play a very important part in the fight against isolationism and for a genuine American program of peace. Only it has to display more initiative, more activity, more systematic effort to combine with other peace movements for common actions along the lines of Roosevelt's October speech.

Despite the great show of strength which isolationism has been displaying in recent weeks, it (isolationism) is really in a crisis because of its patent bankruptcy made evident to the widest masses of our people by the dangerous consequences of the policy of capitulation to fascism (See Chamberlain in England.) A determined and well developed offensive by the adherents of concerted action to restrain the fascist aggressors will most certainly create a rout in the camp of isolationism and will rally the widest masses to active support for the policy of resistance to the fascist offensive.

And time does not wait. Nor does Hitler, or Japan.

As the world situation sharpens, and matters begin to come to a head, the pro-fascist cliques in this country, which have been playing with isolationism as a cover for their fas-

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cist orientation, are forced to speak out more openly and thus disclose their real intentions. The fascist priest Coughlin offers a most illuminating example. Here was one isolationist who for a period of time carried on the most reckless demagogy against the idea of concerted action for peace in the name of isolation and neutrality. To which our answer has been that Coughlin is bluffing, that he does not believe in isolation, that he was merely exploiting isolation illusions to prevent resistance to fascist aggression and to steer the American people into a course of collaboration with the fascist aggressors.

Now, when the sharpened world situation demands immediate action, Coughlin feels compelled to make his conception of isolation a bit more definite. And what is it? Says he:

"All in all, it is to be hoped that Germany, Austria, Italy, England and the United States will recognize the danger lurking behind the old policies which led us to Communism and pointed us to war." (*Social Justice*, March 14.)

Is that clear? Sure. The fascist priest discards in part his "isolationist" garb and comes out for United States collaboration with Hitler and Mussolini and Chamberlain. *And this is the logic and consequence of isolationism.*

To make even clearer what isolationism is beginning to mean in practice, we must quote some more from Coughlin. Here is how he evaluates the seizure of Austria by Hitler, the resignation of Eden and the events immediately following:

"As a result of Mr. Eden's resignation and of Lord Halifax's appointment as Foreign Secretary, the immediate danger of a world war is removed forthwith. The working alliance between England and Germany and Italy indicates an end of the trend towards socialism in France; for, most likely, France, who depends abjectly upon British support, must readjust her affairs to harmonize with the new pattern of this new day." (*Ibid.*)

Never mind the mountain of falsehoods in this so-called analysis, which is cockeyed from beginning to end. Important is the evolution and the logic and the consequences of "isolationism" as disclosed in the foregoing. *Isolationism spells in practice capitulation to fascism.* And Coughlin is not a bit backward in urging upon the American government precisely such capitulation. He says:

"Now that Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister, and Lord Halifax, the Foreign Secretary, have deserted the Communists, the Socialists and the Edenites, it will be necessary for both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull to revamp their entire international policy unless they desire to pursue foolishly their antagonism both towards Germany and Italy and their favoritism for Red Russia." (*Ibid.*)

Here we have isolationism translated in terms of concrete policy in the present state of world affairs: *capitulation to Hitler and Japan.*

Large masses of our people are beginning to see that this is the inevitable "evolution" of isolationism. That is why isolationism is in a crisis. And as a consequence, some of the ideologists of isolationism are beginning to beat a retreat. Such for instance is the case with Bruce Bliven, editor of the *New Republic.* Having championed isolation and neutrality for quite some time, he now comes forward with the following:

"The distinction set up in American public discussion in recent months between collec-

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tive security and isolation seems to me an unreal one. It is obvious that we cannot survive unscathed as a water-tight compartment in a sinking ship. I, for one, am a collectivist and always have been. The question is, on what terms and for what ends are we to cooperate with the rest of the world?" (*New Republic*, March 16.)

Well and good. But let us realize that the offensive of fascism has to be stopped at all cost, and that concerted action is the only way. Let us realize further that, whatever the personal intentions of the sincere isolationists, isolationism in the United States today is being manipulated by pro-fascist cliques and by the general staffs and intelligence services of the fascist powers through paid spies, provocateurs and "propagandists."

The struggle for peace and for concerted action to restrain the fascist aggressors demands now that more attention be paid to uncovering the manipulation of the fascist intelligence services in this country. The Lovestoneites, who of late went into the business of isolationism themselves, are raising the cry that there is a danger of a "spy scare" being raised in the country. And we wonder why the Lovestoneites are so solicitous about the Hitler and Japanese spies? As for the interests of peace, these demand imperatively that the machinery of the fascist intelligence services, who manipulate isolationism and seek to demoralize the movements for concerted action, that this machinery be uncovered and exposed.

In this connection, it is worth paying attention to the investigation of the Senate lobby investigating committee under the chairmanship of Senator Minton, which "has been doing some quiet sleuthing into a reported expenditure by the Japanese government for propaganda purposes." (Pearson and Allen, March 13.) These two Washington correspondents report further that:

"The Japanese propaganda fund is alleged to total $500,000, authorized at the time of the Panay incident, and preliminary probing by the United States military intelligence and by Hoover's G-men points to some very well-known Americans who so far must be nameless."

* * *

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S pledge that he will not let the people down *has to be translated into action,* in order for it really to begin to mean something. Thus far very little has been done by Congress and by the administration to protect the people from the terrific effects of the developing crisis.

Unemployment has increased catastrophically since August last (about five million) and payrolls have fallen even more precipitously. Yet monopoly prices and profits have changed very little. The crisis is thus being seriously *aggravated* by the monopolies who are seeking to make the people carry the full burden of the crisis which they—the monopolies—have hastened and accelerated.

Wage cutting has been going on in many industries, chiefly in textile and shoe, with white-collar workers getting salary cuts also in other industries. It is clear that the only thing that stands today between the workers in the basic industries and wage cuts is the C.I.O., the general strengthening of trade unionism and the collaboration of labor within the camp of democracy with other progressive forces.

The sabotage of big business can no longer be successfully denied. Just

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consider a few of the main characteristics of the present crisis.

1. The terrific rate of fall in the volume of industrial production. And here is how it compares with 1929:

"The Federal Reserve index of the volume of industrial production dropped from 117 in August to 84 in December, or 33 points in four months. At the beginning of the great depression in 1929 and 1930 the same index moved downward for thirteen months before it had lost 33 points, instead of doing it in four months as it did this time." (The Cleveland Trust Co., *Business Bulletin*, Feb. 15.)

2. Even a more precipitous drop in payrolls:

The Labor Bureau's index of payrolls dropped from 103.7 in August, 1937, to 71.1 in January, 1938, or 32.6 points in five months. In the crisis of 1929, the same index moved for 24 months before it dropped 32.5 points, instead of doing it in five months this time.

In addition we have had a terrific drop in farm income, specially among small farmers and sharecroppers whose condition, especially in the South, verges on the catastrophic.

Contrast with this the relative rigidity and stability of monopoly prices and monopoly profits in the face of a most precipitous drop in the prices of farm commodities.

The Department of Labor index of commodity prices for *farm products* dropped from 96.0 in April, 1937, to 70.9 on February 3, 1938. The same index of prices for *metals and metal products* stood at 96.1 in April, 1937, and on February 3, 1938, *it stood in the same place*—96.1.

Many are the reasons for these peculiar features of the present cyclical economic crisis, economic and political, peculiarities conditioned mainly by the general crisis of the capitalist system and by the present world situation. But the one most relevant to our present discussion is the increased domination of the monopolies in the life of the country and the economic and political sabotage of big business. This was what our Party signalized as far back as October, 1937.

As this is being written, big business threatens fresh mass dismissals and direct wage cuts. The railroad magnates are planning a 15 per cent wage cut, and similar cuts are being projected in the rubber industry.

Clearly, labor and the democratic front generally cannot afford to let things slide, to let the crisis take its "natural" course. This is what the monopolies want. There must be a get-together of labor, farmers and all progressive forces to coordinate all the demands of the people in the crisis *into a people's program for the crisis.* This is dictated by the immediate needs of the suffering masses and by the needs of preparing the democratic front for the congressional elections of 1938.

Basing itself on the needs and the demands of the masses, the Communist Party has already made known the main propositions upon which a people's program for the crisis has to be formulated, a program which in fact is already receiving the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. These general demands are:

Break the sit-down strike of big capital. Jobs or adequate relief for every worker. Enforce the law for col-

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lective bargaining upon the open shop employers. Improve and extend the Social Security Law. Break the profiteering monopolies which rob the people's food basket. Guarantee to the farmers possession of their land and prices which correspond to cost of production. Improve the Youth Act to provide education and jobs for all. Extend the C.C.C. camps. Balance the budget by taxing the economic royalists. Establish the people's will over the reactionary Supreme Court. Protect the civil rights of the people guaranteed by the Constitution. Outlaw the vigilante, strikebreaking, fascist gangs of big business. Enact the anti-lynching law. Enforce the equal rights laws for Negroes. Quarantine the war-makers. Embargo the fascist invaders of Spain and China. For concerted action by the United States, France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to restrain the war-makers.

* * *

THE election of Langlie, the reactionary, to the office of mayor of Seattle, and the defeat of Meyers, the labor and progressive candidate, has provoked loud jubilation in the camp of reaction and fascism. This fact should be the cause for serious thinking on the part of labor and all progressives, first, because of the loss suffered in the important city of Seattle and, second, because of similar dangers arising elsewhere.

Langlie was elected and Meyers defeated primarily because of the splitting policies and activities of the reactionary bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. There is no doubt that they bear the chief responsibility. And if they should carry over the same splitting policy into the fall elections this year, the cause of labor, of democracy and peace, will be seriously endangered. It is already being threatened. This requires sober and cold deliberation on what is to be done to avoid something which may assume the dimensions of disaster, and to begin doing it at once.

There is a certain *minimum* of united action between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. on the *political field* which must be brought about regardless of how much unity can be achieved at present in the industrial field. And this minimum of united political action is *the unification of all democratic forces behind a single progressive candidate for each elective office.* This is the only way to victory. Any other way spells defeat like in Detroit and Seattle; and labor, whether in the C.I.O. or A. F. of L., simply cannot afford to be defeated in the coming elections. This is the position of the Communist Party elaborated by Comrade Foster in his article in the *Daily Worker,* March 2, 1938.

How is this minimum to be achieved?

Organized labor must at once begin to negotiate and discuss this minimum of united action. Locally, by states and nationally, the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. and the railroad unions must begin to discuss in a practical way this simple proposition: how to unite all labor and democratic forces behind *one progressive candidate* for each office. Some will call it bargaining. Let it be so; but it will be bargaining for a purpose of *principle,* the united action of the democratic camp. Some will say: this involves mutual concessions and compromise. Let it be so,

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but it will involve *practical* compromises which serve a purpose of principle, the principle of defeating reaction and fascism. And the main objective of labor today is to secure *at all cost* the defeat of the candidates of reaction and fascism. Let Austria be our freshest reminder. We repeat: *to secure at all cost* the defeat of the candidates of reaction.

Labor's Non-Partisan League shows a realization of the fact that labor's political policies must not be "narrow"; they must be of such a broad character as to achieve the double aim of (a) uniting labor and (b) uniting with labor all progressive forces into the broadest democratic front. In its campaign handbook, Labor's Non-Partisan League says correctly:

"Labor is in politics to serve the interests of the community as a whole; to obtain good government for all; and to unite all voters against the fraction of exploiters of great wealth. Success on any other basis is clearly impossible in most sections of the United States."

Now, how are we to achieve this unification of the people against their exploiters? In the light of the experiences of Detroit and Seattle, it is not difficult to find the answer. When organized labor is split on the political field, it not only fails to win to itself the non-working class population but fails also to get the full labor vote for itself. And defeat is inevitable. But when, as in New York and many places in Pennsylvania last fall, organized labor acts unitedly *behind a single progressive candidate*, it helps get the full labor vote for that candidate and also the bulk of the vote of the middle classes. And victory is the result.

Consequently, the task of achieving the minimum of united political action has to be tackled from two ends simultaneously: discussions and preparations between representatives of organized labor (A. F. of L., C.I.O., railroad unions) for the achievement of united labor action, and discussions between organized labor and all other progressive forces to bring about a common democratic front behind a single progressive candidate for each office. In other words, here is how it will work: the more unity among organized labor, the easier will be the building of the common democratic front; and the further we advance the common democratic front, the easier will be the building of the united action of labor.

Reaction is not losing time. It is feverishly operating on many fronts and with various methods to consolidate its forces for the 1938 elections and, in doing so, it (reaction and fascism) is trying to perpetuate the split in labor's ranks. Reaction banks a good deal upon maintaining that split. Labor must defeat these speculations of the reactionaries if it wants to avoid being defeated itself.

Take the speculations of a Republican reactionary like Vandenberg. He advocates a Republican-Democratic anti-New Deal coalition both for 1938 and 1940. This requires, of course, splitting the Democratic Party. And who, in Vandenberg's calculations, is going to help in bringing about that split? He calculates on the reactionary Southern Democrats, naturally (Burke & Co.), but most especially he banks on the reactionaries in the A. F. of L. That's why, in order to make it easier for these

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reactionaries in the A. F. of L. to swing with them the membership into Vandenberg's coalition, Vanbenberg builds up a special program, one that should look attractive to labor. He says:

"The program should attract the liberal and the conservative. It seems to me it should meet with the approval of business and labor." (*The New York Times,* March 13.)

The game is clear, isn't it? And the only thing that will effectively smash this game is the minimum of labor political unity of which we spoke in the foregoing.

But this is not the only danger. The other one arises from the plans and speculations of the reactionaries in the Democratic Party *to get control of that party,* to kick the New Deal out of it and to make it acceptable to the reactionary monopolies. And whom do the reactionary Democrats bank upon especially to help bring about this *coup d'etat?* Again the reactionary bureaucrats in the A. F. of L. We can see the beginnings of this development already operating in many parts of the country, where the reactionary wing of the Democratic Party with the help of the A. F. of L. reactionaries are trying in the current primaries to capture the Democratic Party for the reactionary wing.

And even where the fight in the Democratic Party is not clearly one of progress against reaction, there is a difference between a progressive and a progressive, with labor being interested in securing victory for the most genuine and consistent progressive. And, again, one can depend upon the A. F. of L. reactionaries (as long as there is no minimum unity of political action) to help defeat the more genuine progressives in the Democratic Party.

It is clear, for example, that the fight of progressive labor and all progressives in Pennsylvania to have Kennedy nominated for the governorship in the Democratic primaries is good for labor and it is good from the viewpoint of insuring genuine progressive leadership in the Democratic Party. It is good and necessary for the building of the democratic front. But is there any doubt that, as long as there is no agreed minimum of united political action between A. F. of L. and C.I.O., the reactionaries in the A. F. of L. will do (are doing) all they can to combat these efforts of the democratic camp in Pennsylvania? No doubt whatsoever.

So, no matter from what angle one looks at it, the interests of labor and of democracy generally demand an agreed and coordinated minimum of united political action, because reaction has to be defeated at all cost. Plainly, the initiative belongs to the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League to help bring about this united action of A. F. of L., C.I.O. and railroad unions.

This necessarily involves the coming forward of the membership and of the progressive forces in the A. F. of L. with a program of demands and action that should make it impossible for the reactionaries to keep labor from united political action. Such coming forward of the progressives in the A. F. of L. would greatly accelerate the realization of united labor action on the political field.

On this, as on many other current issues, time does not wait.

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WITH the opening of the Party Convention discussion, the membership enters actively into the work of laying down the Party's line, of formulating the Party's major tasks and methods of work, for the coming period. The Central Committee, in fulfilment of its duties as the Party's leading body between Conventions, has drawn up resolutions and a redrafted Constitution, to assist and guide the membership in the vital pre-convention deliberations.

Every Party member has not only a right but a duty to contribute to the utmost to this discussion. First, of course, is a review of our work since the Ninth Convention, all phases of our work, beginning with the unit and branch and concluding with the Central Committee. The practical aim naturally is to learn from the past in order to improve our work in the future. Everyone of us, who has the honor to belong to the Party, is able to contribute something valuable and precious to the discussion which will seek to improve our work, which will seek to increase our usefulness and indispensability to the labor movement and to the whole camp of progress and democracy. During the past two years—the period since the Ninth Convention—the Party has been increasingly active in the progressive movements of the working class and of our people, helping to build the power of progress against the onslaughts of reaction, clarifying before the masses the deeper meaning of their daily struggles for a better life, and propagating the socialist aims and principles of Marxism-Leninism. We have done it under the leadership of our Central Committee headed by Browder and Foster.

Therefore, when we say that the Party has been increasingly active, growing together with the progressive mass movements into an important political factor in the country, it means that *Communists* and Communist Party *organizations* have been increasingly active, have been making themselves more useful and more indispensable to our class—the working class—and to our people. And what does that mean with respect to the convention discussion? It means the Party members and organizations have more experience, more and wider mass contacts, more knowledge of the needs and attitudes of the masses, more understanding of how to work with and among them along the lines of Party policy. That being so, it means finally that Party members and organizations are today able to contribute to a convention discussion much more than ever before.

True, not all Party members have in equal degree developed progressively their activities and usefulness. One of the main tasks, therefore, is to activize a larger proportion of our membership, to raise their initiative and Communist understanding. The convention discussion offers for that a good opportunity.

Second, the convention discussion seeks to mobilize the public opinion of the entire Party to lay down the Party's main line, tasks and methods of work, for a period of great stress and seriousness which will tax to the utmost the leading capabilities of all progressive mass movements but especially of the Communist Party. We

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therefore need the most serious and competent participation in this convention discussion of all members and Party organizations. We need both *quantity and quality*. The more members participate actively in the discussion the better, because this is bound to enrich the discussion and to activize the members themselves. And, of course, we need competent discussion, one of the highest possible quality, one that will help us make the best policies for the coming period. So again: we need both quantity and quality. *A Bolshevik self-critical discussion from top to bottom.*

There is still another phase to the Party discussion, inseparable from the deliberations on policy for the future but nonetheless a distinct phase. It is that in the two months of pre-convention discussion we must aim to intensify and improve all our activities: *mass work and Party building.* Or, better, to intensify Party building in the course of our intensified mass work in the building of the democratic front against fascism and war.

More concretely: we must intensify *recruiting, the collection of dues,* the *registration* of those who have not yet been registered, and the building of the *circulation of the Party press.* Our slogan is: *Every Party member a Party builder.*

Remember these are the decisions of the February meeting of the Central Committee and Party Builders Congress. It was the unanimous opinion of that historic gathering that we can and must come to the Tenth Party Convention with 75,000 *good standing members,* and that we can bring up our total membership to at least 100,000 in the coming period.

The pre-convention discussion will therefore be most fruitful—theoretically, politically and all other ways—when it takes place in the surroundings of a more intense and productive Party life generally. One will help the other: good discussions, in the units and in the press, will attract and help bring new members, will help make good the standing of old members, will help win new readers for our press. Similarly, intense Party building in the process of improved struggle for the democratic front against fascism and war will in itself lend more substance, more experience, more richness to the discussion as such. It will make the results of the discussion *more actual and true.*

From which follows, of course, that the pre-convention discussion cannot and must not be confined to the Party members alone but must be so organized as to include the widest possible circles of non-Party workers and non-Party people. This is necessary for two reasons: (a) we can learn a lot from the non-Party people who take an interest and who participate in the progressive movements of the masses. We want to learn from them; and (b) their participation in our pre-convention discussion will help us in the more intensified work of building the Party and its press.

Party organizations have the important task of organizing and leading this sort of a pre-convention discussion.

* * *

For Democracy! For Jobs! For Security! For Peace!

Under these chief slogans, arising from the struggles of the masses against the offensive of reaction in the

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midst of the economic crisis, must be carried forward the mobilization of the widest masses for demonstrations on the forthcoming *May Day*.

The world offensive of fascism, sharpened extremely in recent weeks, and the future unfolding of the reactionary offensive in this country, make it imperative that the greatest possible mobilization be carried out for May Day this year. From one end of the country to the other must resound the demand of the working class and of the democratic camp as a whole:

Stop the fascist aggressors! Fight to preserve and extend the democratic rights and liberties of the people! Fight to maintain and restore peace! Demand the realization of the people's program in the crisis calling for jobs and security! Build the unity of the working class! Build the democratic front! Prepare for the crucial elections of 1938!

A. B.

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LESSONS OF THE MOSCOW TRIALS*

BY EARL BROWDER

FRIENDS and comrades, the treason trial just finished in Moscow, in which Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda, Rakovsky, and their seventeen co-defendants revealed at last the full scope and extent of the international fascist conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet government, are not to be considered the domestic affair of the land of socialism. The murderous conspiracy there revealed throws a bright light on current events all over the world: in Spain, 30,000 new Hitler Storm Troopers join Franco's new offensive, with a new army from Mussolini, and hundreds of airplanes and heavy guns, while simultaneously the "Fifth Column" of fascism, behind the loyalist lines, composed mainly of Trotskyites, tries to raise panic and demoralization; in Austria, Hitler consummates the obliteration of an independent nation, prepared by treachery and conspiracy from within; the Chinese people develop their heroic and history-making resistance to the Japanese invasion, but only at the price of systematic weeding out and shooting of the generals and other officials in the pay of the Japanese secret service. In the United States itself, the smallest tip of the tail of the espionage rats was caught, with the arrest of a half dozen Nazi agents engaged in military espionage against our own land, while the Japanese espionage still operates with relative freedom. There is no part of the world whose fate was not involved in the network of treason, murder, and war-provocation revealed in the Moscow trials.

Our *Daily Worker* has printed verbatim all the most important evidence of the trials, with the last words of the defendants, as well as the indictment, the Prosecutor's summing-up, and the sentence of the Supreme Court. Within a few weeks the complete transcript of the trial proceedings will be available to all in book form for more complete study. But we already have the complete picture with all its essential details. We can all give our considered judgment on the trials, and draw the lessons for our own particular problems in our part of the world.

THE "FRAME-UP" CRY HAS BEEN SILENCED

After the first two Moscow treason trials, in August, 1936, and January, 1937, the capitalist press and the papers of the Second International joined in a cry of "frame-up." They tried to convince the world that even the confessions of the accused were

* Speech delivered at a meeting of New York functionaries of the Communist Party held at the Hippodrome, New York, March 18, 1938.

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faked, and that the conspiracy was on the side of the Soviet government itself, and not of the accused, who were suddenly pictured as "saints of the revolution," "Old Bolsheviks," and so on, who, for their revolutionary virtues must now be defended by the capitalist press and the Second International. The Soviet government, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had betrayed the pure doctrines of Marx and Lenin, they said, which are now being jointly defended by Trotsky, the capitalist press, and the Labor and Socialist International Executive Committee. Even our own *New York Herald Tribune* came out as the defender of Leninism! And of course, William Randolph Hearst, Eugene Lyons, and Max Eastman were in the front lines!

Now with the last trial over, the evidence before us, the Court's verdict given and executed, now even the most hardened newspaper defenders of the traitors have been forced to drop the cry of frame-up, have been forced to admit the overwhelming proof of the guilt of the accused. The entire world is convinced that there actually was such a conspiracy, that it was accurately identified, that the accused were justly convicted. Even the most bitter-end opponents of the Soviet Union, including those without scruples or conscience, realize the old game is up, that it is useless any longer to repeat the old "frame-up" cry. The facts of the case are now established, once and for all, for the whole world.

THE "NEW LINE" OF THE DEFENDERS OF TROTSKYITE-BUKHARINITE WRECKING

Today the journalistic and political defenders of Trotsky and his executed collaborators take up a new line. Admitting the facts, they now cry out that either way, true or false as the charges may be, the Soviet Union is equally discredited and disgraced before the world. If it had been a "frame-up," as they originally charged, then the Soviet government was the arch-criminal of all history; now that the old cry is completely discredited, the facts established, the Soviet Union is to be made responsible for the appearance of such extreme criminals in its ranks. Ha, ha, they cry, look at what enormous criminality is produced by the Soviet system, and in its very highest ranks too! That is enough by itself to prove the Soviet system is unsound, because it produces rotten fruits! It is enough, they shout, to admit the existence of such treason in high places, automatically to condemn the whole Soviet government! Some of the most brazen of these journalistic harlots even write imaginative stories involving all Soviet officials as traitors, and demand complete distrust toward everything connected with the Soviet Union.

How shamefully un-American, how anti-American, this position is, is clear to everyone with any knowledge of American history. If such an argument could hold against the Soviet Union, then American democracy would have been condemned from its beginnings. If Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, must be made responsible for Trotsky, Bukharin, Tukhachevsky, as these defenders of wrecking demand, then George Washington must be made responsible for Benedict Arnold and Thomas Jefferson for Aaron Burr. It needs only to draw this parallel, completely to expose the falsity of the

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argument, at least to anyone whose Americanism is deeper than his anti-Soviet prejudices!

It will help all Americans to understand the historic significance of the trials, if we review our own history more at length, in the light of recent events.

The establishment of the United States as an independent nation was a vanguard event in the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the whole world, it was the opening of a new stage in a world revolution. In this respect there is a valuable analogy between the position of the United States in world affairs at the close of the eighteenth and opening of the nineteenth centuries, and the position of the Soviet Union today. And both countries, in the period of revolution, suffered from treason and wrecking from within, in low and high places. We can safely say, making allowance for enormous differences in historical epoch and social relations, that America suffered much more than has the Soviet Union from treason, relatively speaking. Let us recall some of the details.

First, there is Benedict Arnold, whose name takes its place alongside that of Judas for Americans as synonymous with the utmost depths of treachery. Arnold was a close intimate of George Washington; he was described as "brilliant" and "gallant." He was ordered to be tried by court-martial, by act of Congress, but was let off with a reprimand. Washington defended Arnold, disapproved of the court-martial, and afterward invited Arnold to resume a post of honor in the army, and on his request gave him command of the principal military post in the country, West Point. One and a half years before receiving this appointment Arnold was already in treasonable connections with the British. Within a few weeks after receiving this command, Arnold plotted to surrender West Point to the British at a date and hour when Washington, Lafayette, and others were to arrive at West Point. The plot failed only because the go-between, Major Andre, was caught returning through the lines with the documents of the plot—Trotsky and his friends a century and a half later had learned to burn their documents! Arnold escaped, and openly joined the British, receiving a reward of $30,000 and a brigadier's commission.

A mayor of New York was involved in a conspiracy to assassinate Washington, a plot which included a member of Washington's bodyguard, who was executed.

A widespread plot arose inside the Revolutionary Army similar to that headed by Tukhachevsky in the Soviet Union. Headed by Thomas Conway, and called in history the "Conway Cabal," this plot included General Horatio Gates, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Lee, and others; at one time they controlled the Continental Congress; their scheme centered in the assassination of Washington and his closest comrades, just as the Trotsky-Bukharin plot centered on assassination of Stalin and his closest co-workers.

In 1797, Congress impeached Senator Blount, of Tennessee, for treasonable conspiracy with Britain to involve the United States in war with Spain. As in so many other treasonable adventures, the traitor found protection in the Senate of which he was a member.

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With the advent of Jefferson and the Republican-Democratic Party to power in 1800, the Federalist Party quickly passed over to wholesale treason, which lasted for fifteen years. Hamilton was the leading figure in the treason, for the first period, but due to rivalry with Aaron Burr for leadership, later split the Federalists and opposed Burr when he took over leadership of the treasonable forces. The conspiracies involved such well-known and formerly powerful figures as Gouvernour Morris, George Cabot Higginson, Fisher Ames, Pinckney, Rutledge, Ross, White, Tracy, Pickering, Cutler, Dayton, Hillhouse, Griswold—men who had controlled the destiny of the country during Washington's and John Adams' administrations.

How did these "eminent" Americans fight against Jefferson? Allow me to quote from an outstanding authority, Claude G. Bowers, who cannot be suspected of bias in favor of the argument I am making. When the Napoleonic counter-revolution was straining relations with the United States, in the difficulties which led up to the Louisiana Purchase, Bowers describes the beginning of the general treachery as follows:

"Instantly the strategy of Federalism was clear—to force a war if possible, to furnish the West with a pretext for separation if necessary, and to make impossible by every human means the success of any peaceful negotiations Jefferson might plan." (Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson in Power*, p. 161.)

Describing the situation in the government circles, Bowers says:

"All the while the Federalist leaders in House and Senate were secretly planning treason—but that did not enter into the gossip then, nor for a long time afterward." (*Ibid.*, p. 216.)

But while, like in the Soviet Union, the conspirators kept themselves hid for a long time, they were during the whole period, in Bowers' words, "up to their armpits in a conspiracy of secession." (*Ibid.*, p. 223.)

During this period these gentlemen opened up their systematic connection with foreign powers. At one point Bowers describes this as follows:

"They had not scrupled to approach Merry, the British minister, with a proposal that Britain reject the boundary treaty on the ground, plainly expressed," that this would help "in the steps already commenced toward a separation from the Union. . . . They naturally look to Great Britain for support and assistance whenever the occasion shall arrive." (*Ibid.*, p. 234.)

Already in 1803, the conspirators were planning an armed *coup d'etat.* Bowers records that: "If a resort to arms were necessary it was hoped that Hamilton would agree to become commander-in-chief."

Pickering, writing to Gouverneur Morris ten years after, in 1814, formulated the conspiratorial policy as follows:

"For many years past I have said: 'Let the ship run aground! The shock will throw the present pilots overboard; and then competent navigators will get her once more afloat, and conduct her safely to port.'" (Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 210.)

Senator Pickering of Massachusetts continued regular correspondence, giving confidential information and advice, with the British government through many years up to and including the period of the war with England of 1812.

Double-dealing of the Federalists,

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on the model followed by the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites" in the Soviet Union, was followed especially in the period of the war with England. While in Congress they voted for the war, they privately assured the British Minister that this was only to create conditions for overthrowing the Republicans, and prepare a peace advantageous to England.

The New England state governments, controlled by the Federalists, openly sabotaged the military and financial measures of the U. S. government, and secretly trafficked with the enemy. British confidential reports of the period said:

"Two-thirds of the army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors, drawn principally from the states of Vermont and New York." (J. B. MacMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 65.)

"Were it not for these supplies, the British forces in Canada would soon be suffering from famine, or their government be subjected to enormous expense for their maintenance." (*Ibid.*, p. 66.)

It was wholesale treason in the American army that opened up the national capital, Washington, to the British Army, resulting in the sacking of the city, the burning of most public buildings, including the White House, from which President Madison escaped only a few hours before it was occupied by the British soldiers.

Aaron Burr furnished the classical American analogy to Trotsky in the Soviet Union. While he was Vice-President of the United States, under Jefferson, he opened his treasonable relations with foreign powers. Although the Supreme Court of the U.S., under Chief Justice Marshall, later acquitted him when he was brought to trial, his guilt was apparent not only to Americans but to the whole world.

British Minister Merry, writing to Lord Harrowly, on August 6, 1804, reported:

"I have just received an offer from Mr. Burr, the actual Vice-President of the United States, to lend his assistance to His Majesty's Government in any manner in which they may think fit to employ him, particularly in endeavoring to effect a separation of the western part of the U.S. from that which lies between the Atlantic and the mountains." (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 55.)

Burr's conspiracy also extended to arrangements with the Spanish government, in developing which he suffered the same embarrassments that the Trotskyites complained of when confronted with the rival demands of their dual masters, Japan and England.

In Burr's schemes a central role was played by General James Wilkinson, formerly Chief-of-Staff of the U.S. Army and then Governor of Louisiana Territory. Wilkinson went enthusiastically into the plot, but later when he saw the dangers of defeat, he did like many Trotskyites in the Soviet Union, turned state's evidence and helped the government to unearth and smash the conspiracy. Later on, however, like the oppositionists in the Soviet Union in past years, he used his immunity to again enter into treasonable conspiracies against his country.

Burr's plot, like that in the Soviet Union, was definitely designed to destroy the new system that had been established by the Revolution, and return to the old discredited and

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overthrown regime. As stated by Minister Merry, in a report to Mulgrave in London:

"He [Burr] observed that when once Louisiana and the western country became independent, the Eastern states will separate themselves immediately from the Southern, and that thus the immense power which is now risen up with so much rapidity in the western hemisphere will, by such a division, be rendered at once unformidable." (Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 232.)

Burr planned not only an armed coup to separate the Western territory, but also an uprising in Washington. The scheme was to bring armed men into Washington, one by one, and at a given signal seize the President and Vice-President (Burr was by that time out of office himself), capture the arsenal and naval base, and throw the central government into confusion.

In the Burr conspiracy were involved many of the highest army officers, judges of the U.S. Courts, Senators and Congressmen, federal and state officials of all sorts, and the whole leadership of the Federalist Party at one time or another.

Like the plots of the Rights and Trotskyites in the Soviet Union, the Burr conspiracy had no roots in the population. Adams, the historian, described Burr's circles in these words:

"Burr's conspiracy, like that of Pickering and Griswold, had no deep roots in society, but was mostly confined to a circle of well-born, well-bred, and well-educated individuals." (*Ibid.*, p. 441.)

Like in Trotsky's conspiracy, the broadest circle of its agents and allies worked under cover, and when it was exposed they were loud in the defense of Burr and their denunciation of Jefferson. At the same time they washed their own hands of any responsibility for the affair, as Norman Thomas does today. But we can, as Comrade Foster has already pointed out in his foreword to a pamphlet on *The Meaning of the Soviet Trials*, answer the apologists of Trotsky with the identical words of Thomas Jefferson, who wrote on April 20, 1807:

"The Federalists, too, give all their aid, making Burr's cause their own, mortified only that he did not separate the Union, or overturn the government, and proving, that had he had a little dawn of success, they would have joined him to introduce his object, their favorite monarchy, as they would any other enemy, foreign or domestic, who could rid them of this hateful republic for any other government in exchange." (Thomas Jefferson, *Collected Works*, "Letter to William G. Gides," February 3, 1807.)

Jefferson also gave the perfect answer to those who argued then, as Norman Thomas argues now, that the charges are too fantastic to be believed. As Comrade Foster has already quoted him, Jefferson said:

"Burr's enterprise is the most extraordinary since the days of Don Quixote. It is so extravagant that those who know his understanding would not believe it if the proofs admitted doubt." (*Ibid.*, "Letter to Charles Clay," January 11, 1807.)

Like Burr, Trotsky relies mainly upon the extravagance of his plots to obtain non-belief in their exposure.

Jefferson answered the argument, now so popular among Trotskyite apologists, that the trials have weakened and discredited the new republic. He said:

"On the whole, this squall, by showing with what ease our government suppresses movements which in other countries requires

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armies, has greatly increased its strength by increasing the public confidence in it." (*Ibid.*, "Letter to Governor Clairborne," February 3, 1807.)

It took the United States government thirty-eight years before it finally suppressed the treasonable circles that had arisen in the first days of the revolution, and which had occupied high posts in the government established by that revolution. The Soviet Union has dug out and liquidated its treasonable sects in only about half of that time. The United States government during that thirty-eight years of fight against treason had to deal with tens of thousands of traitors in a population of three to six millions; the Soviet Union has had to deal with a few thousand traitors in a population of 180,000,000.

Altogether, the relative showing of treason in the early years of American bourgeois democracy, and the early years of Soviet socialist democracy, is not unfavorable to the land of socialism. And just as every American democrat must indignantly reject the idea that our traitors were the fruits of our new democratic system, just so must we also reject, for equally valid considerations, the identical argument that the Soviet traitors are the fruits of the socialist system of society, instead of, as the truth is, the fruits of the reactionary and fascist conspiracies against the Soviets.

Treason in the United States was not finished, however, even with the War of 1812 and the burning of the White House. When our country was face to face with the vital issue of slavery and the preservation of the Union, in the years leading up to 1860, we had traitors in control of the White House, of both houses of Congress, and of the Supreme Court, as well as in the army. These traitors in high places deliberately prepared the dismemberment of their country, dispersed its armed forces, sent its supplies to the conspiring insurrectionists, surrendered its fortresses to the enemy. During the Civil War that ensued, the government began operations with a Chief of Staff who worked in agreement with the enemy. A Confederate spy attended the meetings of the General Staff, and was subsequently arrested. When, at the conclusion of the war, Lincoln was assassinated, the deed was clearly protected and organized from within the government circles, as was the assassination of Kirov in the Soviet Union in 1934. And if Jefferson had his Burr, let us not forget that Roosevelt has his Garner.

If there are Americans still sufficiently naive to think that the days of treason ended with the Civil War, let them ponder the recent words of William E. Dodd lately resigned as Ambassador to Berlin, who publicly declared:

> "There is no doubt that the Nazi government has paid spies in America and that many of these are ranking American officials."

It is clear that the arrest of a few lower-class Nazi spies during the past few weeks is still far away from the centers of fascist espionage and treason that infest the upper circles of American society. The open incitations to assassination of President Roosevelt that have been published in the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Sun*, and the McClure Syndicate confidential dispatches are only a little whiff of the devil's brew of trea-

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son that boils in Wall Street circles. The recent column of the well-known Republican commentator, Mark Sullivan, in which he compares President Roosevelt with a skunk, and proposes to remove a skunk from the national premises by writing polite letters to him, was but a cowardly echo of this assassination propaganda in high places. Treason is afoot in America today. Let the Moscow trials arouse the American people to more alertness toward it!

HOW THE FASCISTS AND THEIR AGENTS USE "REVOLUTIONARY" SLOGANS

Since the Trotskyites and their collaborators, the Bukharin-Lovestone groups in all countries, entered into the organized intelligence services of Hitler and Japan and became their agents, they have worked overtime to put "revolutionary" slogans to work for the fascists, trying to confuse and disrupt the revolutionary working class movement and divert it to irresponsible actions planned by the fascists.

Thus, in 1933, the Trotskyites in the United States concretely raised the slogan of "turn the imperialist war into civil war," used by Lenin in the World War of 1914-1918, and demanded that this slogan shall govern the attitude of American workers in the event of war between Japan and the United States. When the Communist Party definitely repudiated this scandalous misuse of Lenin's famous slogan, and pointed out that this was encouragement to Japan's aggressions in China, and a promise to aid Japan if the United States should in any way come to the help of China, the Trotskyites accused us of "abandoning Leninism." When the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites had adopted a full program of dismemberment of the Soviet Union, the destruction of socialism, and the return to capitalism, they launched their new phase of activities under the slogan that Stalin had betrayed the revolution. At every turn, in every country and locality, in every workers' organization, the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites-Bukharinites have reduced this scheme of treachery to a science; for every dirty job the reactionaries and fascists want done among the workers, these vermin will find a high-sounding "revolutionary" theory and slogan.

HOW THE TROTSKYITES CORRUPTED NORMAN THOMAS

This was the technique by which the Trotskyites recruited many of their dupes in the Soviet Union; and this is also the means they rely upon especially in the United States. This was how they got their hold on Norman Thomas, with his political collapse inevitably ensuing. The case of Norman Thomas and Trotskyism is worthy of a more detailed examination in the light of the last trials.

Thomas was not always the pitiful figure that he now presents on the political scene, with no one so poor as to do him honor, not even the Trotskyites whom he serves. We are apt to forget that only a few years ago Thomas was a powerful political force in the country, far beyond even the measure of almost a million votes which he gathered in 1932. The story of his seduction by Trotskyism is the story of his political bankruptcy, so that today his chief significance is that of defender of self-confessed traitors, murderers and spies.

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It was the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, which marked the new phase of activity of the spies and wreckers and their collection into a new general bloc or alliance in the Soviet Union, that also started Norman Thomas moving in the same direction. He was frightened and thrown into a deep panic by the collapse of his German comrades of the Social-Democracy; he began to look for new guidance, a new orientation; lacking any theoretical ability of his own, and stubbornly rejecting any serious united front with the Communist Party, which we systematically urged upon him and his associates for years (even to the extent of offering to make great sacrifices for it), Thomas closed one after the other all doors except that leading to union with the Trotskyites. He has been uniting and splitting with them ever since, and with each move he drops still more of his past political influence and prestige.

On the most crucial issue of the day, the fight for peace, we have the sharpest example of the political corruption of Thomas by the bloc of traitors and spies. Thomas is today one of the most frantic in denunciation of the Communist Party for our line toward concerted action for peace; at the same time he denounces the Communists for "inconsistency" in changing our position over the years. But Thomas has never yet uttered a word of explanation for his own changes; for in 1932 he occupied a position on this question very close to that of the Communists today in many respects; the difficulty between us is this, that as we tried to approach and unite with the broad democratic position Thomas then occupied, Thomas himself abandoned that position and moved over to Trotskyism.

Let me make this point very clear and explicit, by giving you a series of quotations of the position of Norman Thomas in 1932.

In the *New Leader* for February 6, 1932, Thomas wrote the following:

> "The Disarmament Conference at Geneva opened to the horrible tune of Japanese bombs and guns in Shanghai. Disarmament must succeed if there is to be peace in the world, but disarmament cannot succeed while such cruel imperialism as the Japanese military clique has forced upon the Far East stalks abroad in the world.
>
> "If the United States weeks ago had deliberately sought cooperation in the League of Nations with Russia in economic pressure on Japan, almost certainly the present crisis would have been avoided.
>
> "While the United States lost an opportunity that will not come again, whatever hope there is lies in the substitution by the nations of effective economic pressure. This requires cooperation with the nations in the League and with Russia."

After this fundamentally correct statement, which is even more true today, Thomas wrote three weeks later an answer to the Thomas of today. He said:

> "Certainly I do not agree with Senator Borah that economic embargoes mean war. Properly handled, it might be the alternative to war. . . . I still think that it would be well to see a frank conference with both the League of Nations and Russia on united moral and economic pressure against an aggressor nation."

It required the Trotskyites and Bukharin-Lovestonites to convince Thomas that this was wrong, because it was against the interest of the fascist aggressors and would impede their hopes of seizing power in the Soviet Union.

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The following week, Thomas wrote again a statement which is entirely correct today, but which Thomas has now abandoned under the influence of Trotsky. He said:

"The United States government should have taken the initiative in seeking a world conference to impose on Japan worldwide embargoes on loans and war supplies. If this had been done sooner I think a great victory would have been won for peace. It is still the best method to use against a recalcitrant Japan."

If Norman Thomas had stood firmly by and further developed his correct position of 1932, he would not be the tragic figure he is today, isolated and discredited before the American masses. He would be a powerful figure in the broad democratic movement against war and fascism. But then he would have had to fight against the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite ideas and groupings, instead of surrendering to them and joining their pro-fascist "anti-Comintern" alliance. Thomas, following the same logic as Trotsky and Bukharin, that springs from lack of faith in the people, and panic before fascism, surrendered his correct position of 1932, capitulated to Hitler, and joined with Trotsky. The Moscow trials have thrown a light upon all such problems, including the political degradation of Norman Thomas.

HOW AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS DEFEND THE FASCIST AGENTS

Over almost two years, we have become so accustomed to the systematic defense of the fascist spies and wreckers by the American newspapers that we are in danger of tending to take it as a law of nature, a matter of course, something not even to be remarked about. But this is a political phenomenon of the first order, one which shows how deep the influence of the Hitler-Mussolini-Mikado "anti-Comintern" alliance penetrates into American life. It is of the same seriousness and significance as the spectacle of the newspapers in 1936 going overwhelmingly for Landon when the people were going overwhelmingly for Roosevelt. It is a sign of the profound reactionary forces driving toward fascism in our country.

But there are two new points on this question, raised by the last trials. In his testimony, Bukharin told how he had arranged in advance through his connection with the Second International leaders that they should take the lead in mobilizing the press of the capitalist countries in their defense. Evidently Bukharin's friends did an effective job, and responded without hesitation to this call.

But in the United States we have our own special example of this technique. It will be recalled that in January, 1936, on the occasion of the Piatakov-Radek trial, a Trotskyite agent by the name of Romm appeared, who had been stationed in Washington for some time as a correspondent of the Soviet press. When Romm confessed to being a liaison agent for connections with Trotsky, a group of his former associates in Washington, of the American press, came forward with a statement declaring their confidence that he was not a traitor despite his confession. Apparently this was a spontaneous and voluntary help from fellow-craftsmen to a comrade in difficulties.

However, we have made our own

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investigation in this matter, and have learned without the slightest possibility of doubt that Romm himself had pre-arranged this defense before he left America, knowing beforehand that when he was recalled to Moscow he might be called upon to explain some evidence against him. If Romm had been innocent, why would he have considered it necessary to make such pre-arrangements? And what shall we think of our American newspaper men, who made this public appeal for Romm, without revealing that Romm had asked them, before he left, to be prepared for such an action if the issue arose?

The second special American angle to this question that is new is the entirely unprecedented, and unexplained, complete suppression of an item of the trial which, by all newspaper standards, was one of the most sensational items for Americans. If, in a trial of world importance, a well-known American is named as an active agent in the very center of a plot involving the peace of the world and the fate of the world's first socialist society, that would seem to be news, to say the least. Perhaps it would have to be denied, and evidence brought forward to prove that it was not true. But when Max Eastman was named by Christian Rakovsky as the agent who had secured from the British government agreement to Rakovsky's appointment as Ambassador, on the grounds that Rakovsky was closely identified with Trotsky and therefore valuable to the British, this news was completely suppressed by every newspaper and other publication in America, with the exception of the *Daily Worker,* the Chicago *Daily Record,* and the San Francisco *People's World.* Not a line, not a word, has been printed to make known to America that a well-known American writer, Max Eastman, was so accused in a world-historical trial. Was this item suppressed by the correspondents in Moscow? It is almost unthinkable that this would be so. By what means was this suppression achieved in America? That is one of the most interesting questions of the day, and its answer might reveal much to us of the technique of control of a free press in a capitalist democracy.

This complete suppression of the charge against Eastman, this contemptuous refusal even to allow the question to be made known, is one of the most revealing incidents of the trial in its relation to America, and the forces in our country working hand in glove with the fascist agents.

THE SOVIET UNION AND DEMOCRACY

The capitalist newspapers, Norman Thomas, and the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite groups, are working overtime now to propagate the idea that the Soviet Union is an enemy of democracy, that all Communist support of democracy is hypocritical, and that the Moscow trials furnish proof of this. Let us face this issue fundamentally and squarely, and force these gentlemen—if they are not too slippery for us—also to come down to brass tacks. Let us systematically examine their main arguments.

They say the fundamental error, the original sin, of the socialist state was that it originated in a revolutionary overthrow of the old order. We throw back into their faces the well-known fact that all democracies, in-

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cluding the United States of America, also originated in a revolutionary overthrow of the old order. If the Soviet Union is to be condemned on this count, then the U.S.A. is also condemned. We support the origin of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

They say the socialist state violated democracy when it drove out and disfranchised those who took up arms to restore the old order. We throw back in their faces the well-known fact that all democracies, including the U.S.A., did the same thing, and that the U.S.A. drove out a much larger part of its population than did the Soviet Union, with at least equal violence, and that this was essential to the very establishment of democracy. We support the energetic crushing of the enemies within of the republic of the United States, just as we support that of the Soviet Union, and proclaim that both were services to democracy without which democracy would have been crushed.

They say the land of socialism violates the principles of democracy by its political set-up of a single party. We throw back in their faces that the original conception of the democracy of the United States was that of the single party, the party of all convinced adherents of the new system, that the United States operated on that system for more than twenty years, and that the system of dual parties arose only because a small exploiting class, controlling that Federalist party, forced Jefferson and the masses of the people to organize a new party to prevent the complete crushing of democracy. Our Constitution was amended to allow for the operation of two parties only after more than a quarter-century of independence. The Soviet Union operated with many parties for years, and they were dispersed only when they took up arms against the republic. We support the idea of uniting all convinced adherents of democracy into one party at the origin of the U.S.A., even though it failed; we support the idea of a single democratic front in the U.S.A. today; and we support the successful inclusion of the overwhelming mass of population behind the single party of socialism in the Soviet Union. In all these instances, these are examples of the struggle to realize democracy, under different conditions, which all go in the same direction.

They say the Soviet Union violated democracy by carrying through collectivization of agriculture over the opposition of a few hundred thousand kulaks, at the cost of a severe struggle and great hardships. We throw back in their faces that the democracy of the U.S.A. was forced, 86 years after its foundation, to carry through an agrarian reform much less far-reaching but against greater resistance, but only at the cost of four years of Civil War, millions of casualties, and twenty years of military rule in almost half of the country afterward. We declare that, for all its costs, the Civil War in the United States was a service to democracy all over the world, that the collectivization in the Soviet Union was a greater and more fundamental service, more successfully carried out with much less cost, and that those who attack the Soviet Union today are by that token repudiating our own American history and revolutionary heritage. Precisely be-

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cause we are Americans, and value and love our American revolutionary heritage, we are the enthusiastic supporters of the Soviet Union in its tremendous democratic achievements, including collectivization.

They say that the democratic tradition, exemplified by America, is a method of settling political problems without violent struggle, while the Soviet Union shows that its system breeds violence. We throw back in their faces the long history of armed insurrections, conspiracies, assassinations, and civil violence, which have been the constant accompaniment of every stage in the development of American democracy, and declare that the Soviet Union, a nation twenty times the size of the United States in its formative period, has shown a development a hundred times more peaceful than the early stages of bourgeois democracy anywhere in the world, whether in France, England, or in the United States.

Precisely because we love and would protect the achievements of American democracy, we love and protect that higher form of democracy which is being surely and firmly established in the Soviet Union, showing the way to the whole world of the twentieth century, just as the United States was showing the way to the whole world in the eighteenth century.

THE ROLE OF COMRADE STALIN

All the enemies of progress and democracy, all the weak-minded dupes of developing fascism in the United States, have taken up the Trotskyite cries of slander against Joseph Stalin, the genius who inspires and guides the successful construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, who makes of that land a bulwark of peace for the entire world. All their venomous hatred, the putrid essence of their murderous souls, is spewed out in the American press, trying by all means, including the most foul, to besmirch the name of Stalin before the American people.

As we witness this disgusting spectacle, we remember our American history. We recall how the same forces carried on exactly the same kind of campaign against Thomas Jefferson in our own land, even to the point of organizing mob violence against him. We recall the long campaign of slander and abuse against Tom Paine, which lasted a hundred years after his death. We remember the murderous incitations against Lincoln, which stopped at no slander, however low, and which led up to the assassination of the most loved figure in American history. We cannot ignore that today we have a campaign against our own American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, which behind the curtains is equal in virulence to that against Comrade Stalin, and which is more and more breaking into the open also in open incitations to assassination, and which is organized and cultivated by Wall Street circles.

And we declare before the whole world that even if we had nothing to guide us except this hatred of President Roosevelt by the worst enemies of the people, this alone would be enough to bring us actively to his support, and to declare that any man who wins such hatred from our enemies thereby wins a certain admiration from us. And with regard to Joseph

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Stalin, who has shown the way to the peoples of the whole world, as to how our enemies can be decisively defeated, how the eternal crisis and starvation of the capitalist world can be overcome, how a life of growing prosperity, well-being, culture and happiness can be won for the broad millions of the whole population, we declare before the whole world, with the deepest pride, that we have been brought to admire, to love, to respect, and to learn from, the greatest leader of democracy that mankind has ever produced, the greatest helper and guide of the common people of every land, the symbol of the united strength of the toiling masses in victory over their oppressors, none other than the man who is the object of the concentrated hatred of every exploiter in the world, Joseph Stalin.

THE TRIALS AND OUR AMERICAN DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

Every open and concealed enemy of American democracy is trying to make use of the incitations against the Moscow trials as a weapon, also, to make the American people believe that it is the Communists in America, and not the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite groups and their masters, the fascists, who are guilty of conspiracy and violence against democracy in our own land as in the Soviet Union. With this Red-baiting, they try to split open the progressive and democratic forces, and set them to fighting one another so that the reactionaries may slip back into power, using the tactics in our country which the fascists so successfully used in Austria, to that country's doom.

Allow me to use this occasion to repeat, to again put on the record, the answer of the Communist Party to the effort made in Albany to use this tactic to put through a new law to bar Communists from public office. Allow me to state again that the Communist Party opposes with all its power, and will help to crush, by all proper and democratic means, any clique, group, circle, faction, or party, which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow, any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine in any degree their own destiny. Allow me to state categorically that we stand 100 per cent, under all circumstances, for the power of the majority of the people to control the destinies of our country. We of the Communist Party will fight with all our power to defeat, offering our lives if necessary, any and every effort, whether it comes from within or from without, to impose over the American people and nation the will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy.

On March 15, I had occasion to express this in a telegram to the Chairman of the New York Senate Judiciary Committee at Albany, which I want to read here. The telegram said:

"Today's press carries news of Senator McNaboe's Bill which would bar persons believing in overthrow of government by force and violence from holding public office. The McNaboe Bill, while it does not apply to the Communist Party which repudiates any theory of overthrow of democracy, nevertheless has given rise to wide misconceptions and may make necessary a public hearing to clarify the situation. The bill as drafted is clearly

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unconstitutional and can be used against all civil servants and public officials who take a progressive position on any question. For the information of your committee and your fellow legislators let me state that the Communist Party unreservedly supports American democracy and the American Constitution and fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy. Irrespective of what may have been said or may have been written to the contrary, the following is a true statement, in brief, of the Communist position:

"1. The Communist Party opposes the overthrow of American democracy. On the contrary, it supports American democracy and urges the widest possible common front of supporters of democracy in order to maintain it.

"2. The Communist Party does not advocate force and violence. It is not a party of anarchists, terrorists, or conspirators. By no stretch of the imagination does it come under the terms of the criminal anarchy statute or any law patterned after that statute.

"3. The Communist Party is an American party and is not subject to any foreign control. The Communist Party is an American party from the ground up. Its policy is based entirely upon American needs and it is absolutely not subject to any decisions except its own conventions and officials elected thereby.

"The Communist Party reminds the Committee that undemocratic legislation like the McNaboe measure can only lead the country along the road to Hitlerism. The McNaboe bills start off ostensibly with the Communists but always wind up, as we see in the tragic case of Austria, with the Schuschniggs, the Miklases, the Catholics, Jews and liberals. You and I and our fellow-Americans in the state legislature certainly do not want such developments here.

"*Signed,* Earl Browder,
"General Secretary, C.P.U.S.A."

This position, stated by myself on behalf of the Central Committee, was already adopted by formal resolution at our Party's Ninth National Convention, in 1936; it will surely be unanimously endorsed by our coming Tenth National Convention, which will write these principles into our Party Constitution so clearly that even a capitalist newspaper editor cannot distort the question.

It is interesting to note that our capitalist newspapers carry on a great campaign to convince the masses that to adopt the Communist program must mean to adopt a line of forceful and violent overthrow of democracy. They refuse to print our repeated official statements to the contrary. Thus, while we are trying with all our power to make all Communists into clear-headed and convinced fighters for democracy, these newspapers are trying, with all the power of their millions of circulation to destroy and undo our work. They *want* the Communist Party to adopt a conspiratorial line of force and violence by a minority. When we refuse their proposals, their ignore our most solemn declarations, and try to make the people believe we are only lying. The result is this, that in those isolated cases where, among our new Party members, we find tendencies toward conspiracy and force and violence, always and invariably this is the result of newspaper education or the work of stool-pigeons hired by employers' associations, which we must constantly fight to overcome and eradicate.

Just as the newspapers come to the defense of the wreckers, spies, and fascist agents in the Soviet Union, and misrepresent the trials in Moscow and their significance, just so they work to confuse and obscure the true position of the Communist Party in the United States. In both cases, they act against the interests of democracy and progress, at home and throughout the world.

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THE MOSCOW TRIALS A GREAT BLOW FOR PEACE AND AGAINST FASCISM

The Soviet Union, through Comrade Litvinov, but yesterday came forward with a history-making proposal for a conference of all peace-seeking governments to halt the fascist aggressions that are shaking the whole world. On the same day, the city of Barcelona was shattered with a terrible aerial bombardment by German and Italian planes, dropping bombs, to our shame must we say, some of which were but recently shipped from the United States. And on the same day, Secretary of State Hull of the Roosevelt cabinet made a speech calling for concerted action to maintain the sanctity of treaties and world peace.

Let these events, outstanding among the thousands which cry for the same judgment, be the test of the Moscow trials and their significance to the world. If the Soviet Union can confidently take such initiative for peace, if the whole world can be confident that the Soviet Union has the solidarity and power to back it up with action, if this can so clearly coincide with the interests of America, as interpreted by our most representative and respected officials—then clearly we must declare, and all honest people must join us in declaring: "By their fruits ye shall know them." The spies and wreckers, condemned in the recent trials, represented all the dark forces of decay and corruption, leading to war, fascism, and destruction of civilization. Such forces are at work everywhere throughout the world, not least in the United States. The Soviet Union has cleansed itself of these vermin, and stands strong and ready for the supreme test which will decide the destiny of the world; it stands shoulder to shoulder with the best thought and the best men produced by American democracy. In a world of chaos and disintegration and economic crisis, it is forging a new life of plenty and happiness for its people. The Soviet Union, with Comrade Stalin at its head, can do these things because it has united 180,000,000 people into an indissoluble solidarity, based upon socialism, and because it has learned to search out and destroy all the enemies of progress, of democracy, and of peace.

These are the main lessons of the Moscow trials. Let us ponder them well, let us study them in all their detailed ramifications, let us make them clear to the millions of the American people, and let us use these lessons to forge still more strongly together the common front of all democratic forces in our own land, to fight for democracy, for jobs, for security, and for peace, for the entire American people.

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WORLD FASCISM AND WAR

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

1. WHAT IS FASCIST WORLD POLICY?

It was only after the seizure of power by Hitler in Germany in 1933 that fascism developed what might properly be called a world policy of conquest. Prior to that the program of fascism and the fascist movements, besides oppressing the toiling masses in their home countries and warring upon weaker neighboring peoples, consisted principally in attempts to break up the Versailles Peace Treaty. But with the advent of Hitler the fascists redoubled all these activities and also began to move directly towards winning a preponderance of international power that would enable them to redivide the world to suit themselves.

The several fascist powers, combining themselves into a bloc, a fascist international, have launched into a whole series of wars and other violent aggressions. Thus, Japan, after conquering Manchuria, is now trying to overrun all China; Germany has seized Austria and is also maneuvering to grab Czechoslovakia and a whole row of Balkan countries; and Italy, after capturing Ethiopia with fire and sword, is now warring murderously against Spain, is plotting to seize Egypt and Palestine; Poland is scheming to overrun Lithuania, etc. And the fascist aggressors multiply and increase, in boldness and intensity. Fascism is imperialism rampant.

The heart of the fascists' plan to hack their way to world hegemony is to carry through eventually a general assault upon the Soviet Union, the greatest of all obstacles in the path of fascism. By smashing the U.S.S.R. the fascist hope, at the same time, to deal an overwhelming blow to the trade union and revolutionary movement throughout the world, to smash bourgeois democracy in all countries, to conquer great stretches of rich territory, Soviet and otherwise, to destroy the independence of many countries, and to make the allied fascist countries the most powerful imperialist world combination.

This plan for the fascist conquest of world hegemony by overthrowing the U.S.S.R. is primarily German in origin. It is the Hitler fascist expression of the traditional German imperialist *"Drang nach Osten,"* the hunger for the rich Ukraine and Black Sea provinces and Balkan domination, and also of imperial Germany's long fight for world leadership. The projected anti-Soviet war also has deep roots in Japanese imperialist policy, Japan profoundly craving the destruction of the Soviet government in order to seize its vital eastern Maritime

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Provinces and thereby to remove the greatest barrier to Japanese conquest of Asia. Italian imperialism likewise has a big immediate stake in this program of anti-Soviet aggression, Italy anticipating for itself in the event of victory a huge extension of its territory and influence in the Balkan and Mediterranean areas.

Repeatedly, the fascist leaders have given expression to their anti-Soviet world strategy. It is forecast in Hitler's book *Mein Kampf;* Hugenberg, at the London Conference, voiced it by demanding the Ukraine for Germany; Hitler, at the Nazi Nuremberg Congress, similarly declared that in the conquest of the U.S.S.R. the German people would find the solution to their economic difficulties. Many statements by General Araki, and likewise the text of the notorious Tanaka memorandum, show how definitely the Japanese militarists also have in mind an allied war upon the Soviet Union. The steady refusal of Germany and Japan to sign non-aggression pacts with the Soviet government is in line with this whole murderous scheme.

But the overthrow of the Soviet Union is much more easily planned than accomplished. In the way stand the powerful Red Army, backed by a great united people who are animated by a burning revolutionary spirit. Moreover, the fascists understand quite well that when they finally launch their attack upon this tremendous power, they will run the risk, not only of military defeat, but also of proletarian revolution at home that would wipe out their capitalist systems.

Therefore, the fascists find it necessary to prepare most thoroughly for the eventual anti-Soviet war they have in mind. They are compelled to work out a whole series of major strategic moves on a world scale which, they hope, will create such a favorable relation of forces internationally as will permit them to carry through successfully their savage plan of overthrowing and dividing up the Soviet Union. Among the most basic of these war measures against the Soviet Union are the following:

1. To re-arm Germany and to build up a powerful military alliance between Germany, Japan, and Italy which, supported by Poland and as many as possible of the Balkan and Baltic fascist and near-fascist nations, is to simultaneously attack the U.S.S.R. and its Eastern European allies on all fronts and destroy them in a sudden, short, devastating war.

2. To neutralize and weaken Great Britain and France by cutting off their Eastern European allies and by setting up a four-power pact between Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, ostensibly to maintain peace in Western Europe, but actually to give the fascist bloc a free hand to attack the Soviet Union. As for the United States, the fascists hope it will be kept from any possible interference by the strong isolationist sentiment prevailing within its borders.

3. To weaken beforehand the armed forces, industries and defensive power generally of the Soviet Union, and to prepare a counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat* in that country to synchronize with the fascist invasion, by building up within the U.S.S.R. a whole network of spies, wreckers, assassins, etc., out of the remnants of

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the dispossessed, one-time ruling classes (tsarist militarists, kulaks, etc.) and out of the degenerated former opposition groups (Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, etc.).

4. To prepare the capitalist world ideologically and to paralyze all mass resistance to the impending bloody assault upon the Soviet system and democracy in all countries, by carrying on a huge international Red-baiting crusade under the general slogan of saving the world from Bolshevism.

This, in broad outline, is the core of the German-inspired conspiracy of world fascism to crush and eliminate democracy and socialism from the earth and to march to world dominance by the overthrow of the Soviet government and the butchery of its people. The plan comprehensively provides that the fascist attackers be fully armed and united, the intended victims weakened and demoralized, the potentially hostile capitalist democracies neutralized and paralyzed, and the large masses of people everywhere so inflamed and confused with fascist prejudices and nationalistic hatreds that they would permit the terrible fascist war crime to take place. It is the most diabolical and gigantic project of mass murder and human enslavement ever conceived in all history.

Thus, there are two sides to fascist world policy: first, the various depredations being carried on by the several fascist powers on their own account against other nations, but which are being more and more supported by the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis and, second, the planned general war against the Soviet Union. And, as we shall see later on, these two phases of policy, in some respects at least, are contradictory, the various campaigns of aggression by the individual fascist powers tending to interfere with their joint project of a general war against the U.S.S.R.

II. THE FASCIST WAR OFFENSIVE

The fascists have progressed far with their planned war upon the Soviet Union, with its great stake of the defeat of world socialism and democracy and the setting up of fascist world hegemony. Germany has been heavily re-armed and is still feverishly strengthening its land, air and naval forces; an aggressive fascist triple alliance has been built up between Germany, Italy and Japan, and it has drawn within its orbit Poland and various other states bordering upon the U.S.S.R.; elaborate moves have also been made to weaken France and Great Britain and to tie them into an anti-Soviet four-power pact; strong and militant fascist movements have been organized in many countries; in the Soviet Union the recent treason trials and spy exposures showed how busily the fascist powers and their Trotskyite agents had been working to build up their espionage and wrecking organizations to undermine the defensive power of that country; and, finally, the world is now being deluged on an unprecedented scale with anti-Soviet propaganda and all capitalist countries are being militantly urged to support the German-Japanese-Italian anti-Comintern pact to exterminate all Reds (and with them, all democracy).

The foregoing bare outline of what the fascists have done to advance their anti-Soviet plans shows the grave

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menace that now exists of a concerted war attack upon the land of socialism, with all the terrible sufferings and dangers that this will involve for the human race. Stalin's recent letter in reply to the question of young Ivanov emphasizes the acute danger of the outbreak of the fascist anti-Soviet war.

And, as we have seen, the fascists are no less busily developing war in various other directions. Already, in China, Spain, and Ethiopia, they have thrown one-fourth of the world's population into war by their barbarous raids upon these peoples; their recently organized raid by the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo bloc upon Austria, Spain and Lithuania set the whole world trembling on the very brink of war, and they have created such a dangerous tension with a whole series of other capitalist and colonial countries that a devastating war may break out at any time, at any one of a dozen points to deluge the world with blood.

III. OBSTACLES IN THE PATH OF FASCISM

While the fascist powers have undoubtedly scored important successes in their fight against democracy and socialism and in preparing their war for world domination, they are by no means having things all their own way. On the contrary, their stategy of war, aggression and conquest, especially their planned assault upon the Soviet Union, has developed many weaknesses and is meeting with great resistances that threaten their whole project of conquest with eventual irretrievable disaster. It is necessary, therefore, that we examine into these weak spots in the fascist front so that we may be able to take full and conscious advantage of them in our struggle against fascism and war.

The first and most serious of the mass resistances barring the advance of the fascist war-makers is the tremendous and rapidly increasing defensive strength of the Soviet Union. The swift growth of the industries, the rapid collectivization of agriculture, the rise in the living and cultural standards of the masses, the ruthless cleaning out of the Trotsky-ite-Bukharinite spies and wreckers and the smashing of their planned pro-fascist uprising, and the vast mechanization and general strengthening of the Soviet military forces, have all contributed enormously to enhance the armed power and unconquerable revolutionary spirit of the U.S.S.R Besides all this, the lessons of the Spanish and Chinese wars show clearly that modern military technique definitely favors the defense, it being now estimated by experts that an attacking nation, confronting a modern army, must have an advantage of about three to one in order to insure success. All of which makes ducks and drakes of the fascists' hoped-for quick victory over the Soviet Union by a lightning-like attack. They now realize that when they begin their war on the U.S.S.R., they will face a long and desperate struggle which will test all their strength to the uttermost and in which the very existence of their own governments will be at stake, not only from the powerful Red Army, but also from the rebellious masses in their home countries.

The second basic difficulty that confronts the fascists in their planned conquest of world hegemony by overthrowing the Soviet government is

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lack of unity of interest and concentration of forces among the fascist powers themselves for this task. While it is true that nothing would be more gratifying and advantageous to all the fascist governments than the violent overthrow of the Soviet government, still the fascist powers have not yet been able to combine all their forces on this central aim of their world strategy. On the contrary, as we have already remarked, they are engaging in a whole series of other wars in China, Spain, etc., to advance their own individual imperialistic ambitions in these areas.

Many fascists who have very much in mind the eventual attack upon the Soviet Union, justify these individual wars from a strategical point of view on the grounds that they are all strengthening the fascist powers by furnishing them much-needed war materials, increased armaments, added man-power, better strategic positions, and intensified mass fighting spirit, and that these wars may even give the fascist bloc world hegemony before the anti-Soviet war is actually begun.

But such fascist estimates and hopes are over-optimistic. Whatever gains the fascist powers have made through these many war aggressions have been more than offset by negative results. This is because the several fascist wars: (a) decentralize the world fascist strategy into a series of local struggles and scatter the fascist forces out along a too-extended battle line; (b) create antagonisms between the fascist powers themselves (Germany and Poland over Danzig; Germany and Italy over the Balkans; Germany and Japan over the Caroline Islands, etc.); (c) stretch the fascists' resources almost to the breaking point, thereby causing financial and economic crises in Germany, Japan and Italy and subjecting the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis to great strain; and (d) raise up a host of powerful enemies throughout the world that are highly dangerous to the whole fascist cause.

The German fascists have not been blind to the weakness developed in their world strategy of a united fascist war against the Soviet Union through the tendency of their co-conspirators—Japan and Italy—instead of concentrating more directly upon the anti-Soviet drive, to plunge into a whole series of imperialistic war adventures of their own. In consequence, the German strategists have tried to overcome these decentralizing tendencies in the fascist powers' ranks, even while, at the same time, they have been giving aid to Japan's and Italy's war projects and also engaging in similar ruthless imperialistic adventures of their own (Austria, Czechoslovakia, etc.). This at least partly explains Germany's original only partial entrance into the Spanish situation and also Hitler's attempt to free Japan from its Chinese involvement by offering to "arbitrate" the war.

The third big obstruction before the fascists' anti-Soviet war plans is the rising opposition of the governments of the capitalist democracies. This occurs largely because the decentralizing tendency above noted—of the fascist powers carrying on war aggressions on many fronts—tends to provoke Great Britain, France and the United States into active resistance against the fascist plans of conquest and world domination.

The fascist dictators, boldly using

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their anti-Communist bloc, have constantly shown the utmost contempt for the capitalist democracies, obviously considering them to be more or less helpless before their concentrated ideological and military onslaughts. They have literally spat upon these countries and boldly infringed upon their most vital imperialist interests; they have gutted the League of Nations, torn up the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg peace pact, overrun various colonial and semi-colonial countries, and interfered with other countries' internal affairs, and generally have trampled underfoot all established international law.

The governments of the capitalist democracies have submitted to all this injury and abuse, retreating constantly before the incredible fascist insolence and aggression, giving the fascist bloc one easy victory after another and thereby also a stimulus for further aggression. They have supinely stood aside and allowed the overrunning of China, Ethiopia, Spain and Austria. Indeed, powerful sections of finance capital in Great Britain, France and the United States are decidedly fascist-minded and are inclined to give Germany, Japan and Italy a pretty free hand and often considerable assistance in their maraudings. Such ultra-reactionary elements welcome a world growth of fascism in order to defeat the revolutionary and democratic forces at home and abroad. Thus, the Chamberlain British government, fearing revolution in Germany, Italy and Japan, makes concessions to these countries, and, at the same time, would like to see Germany and the Soviet Union weaken each other in a great war, while imperial England stood aside and fattened on the conflict.

The capitalist democracies, however, despite all their shameful retreats, compromises, and even open collusions with the fascist aggressors, nevertheless constitute a serious and growing danger to the fascists' plans of world conquest. Large sections of the British capitalist class (not to speak of the anti-fascist opposition of huge masses of the middle class and working class, constituting easily a majority of the English people) are becoming increasingly alarmed at the Japanese threat to England's Indian and Chinese colonial interests, at Germany's brutal seizure of Austria and its insistent demand for the return of its colonies, and at Italy's bold attempt to cut the British Empire's "life line" in the Mediterranean. The resignation of Anthony Eden was an important sign of this growing fear in English ruling circles, and so also is the tremendous British program of rearmament now going on. French ruling capitalist class circles are likewise being deeply stirred and antagonized by the heavy rearmament of Germany, by the weakening of France's Balkan alliances, by the threat to Czechoslovakia and to France's African and Chinese colonies, by the danger of a possible fascist Spain, etc. This alarm is reflected in the great strengthening of France's military defenses and in the re-emphasis now being placed upon the Franco-Soviet pact. American imperialism also is being aroused by the Japanese attempt to slam shut the open door in the Far East, by Japan's menace to the Philippines, by the sinister activities of Mussolini and Hitler in Latin-

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America; and this fear of the imperialist fascist aggressor powers lies at the bottom of the present big expansion of American naval and air forces.

The awakening opposition of the democratic powers against the fascist aggressors carried with it a double danger for all the fascist plans of conquest: (a) a disastrous war breaking out between one or more of the capitalist democracies, and one or more of the fascist countries, and (b) the forcing of the capitalist democracies (which are being pressed by their peace-loving masses) into a policy of joint collective security to restrain the fascist war-makers. Both of these contingencies are distinct possibilities in the present situation, and the advent of either of them could be disastrous to the fascist powers' aggressions, both against the Soviet Union and other countries.

The question of collective security is constantly becoming more widely accepted as the only way to maintain world peace. The big hindrance to its achievement so far has been the reactionary stand of the Tory British government. The U.S.S.R. is definitely committed to a collective security policy; France would also go along if England did; and, judging by Roosevelt's October 5 speech, so would the United States. But England has refused, and blocked all real efforts at setting up a real security pact. Now, however, things are changing in that country. The resignation of Anthony Eden and the growing split in the Conservative Party caused by Hitler's seizure of Austria and increased attacks upon Spain, show that at last in England a powerful collective security movement is developing even in capitalist circles. For this to lead to a general pact between the U.S.S.R., France, Great Britain and the U.S.A. to preserve the world peace would be a major disaster to the fascists.

The fourth, and vastly important obstacle to the fascist plan of a general war against the Soviet Union (with its objectives of the defeat of world democracy and socialism and the establishment of fascist international domination) is the tremendous anti-fascist mass peace movement that the fascists' war aggressions are raising up in all parts of the earth. Fascist leaders universally have had a gross underestimation of the resistance of the world toiling masses against their plans of war aggression and human enslavement. From the outset the fascist butchers have considered the people as only so much cannon-fodder that could readily be propagandized and terrorized into obedience and they have looked for no serious resistance from that quarter. This contemptuous attitude is not surprising in view of the easy victories the fascists won over the workers of Italy, Germany and Austria because of Social-Democratic misleadership. The only masses for whom the fascists have shown a wholesome fear are the Soviet people, with their powerful Red Army and determined Communist leadership.

The course of events is showing, however, how greatly the fascists have miscalculated the resistance of the masses. In many countries the toilers, alarmed and outraged by the fascists' ruthless military aggressions and terrorism, are developing huge People's Front anti-fascist peace movements and are struggling in militant defense

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of their lives, living standards, democratic rights and national independence. These growing movements are the elemental force which threatens eventual destruction to the fascists, both internationally and in the individual countries.

Thus, in Spain, where the Italian, German and Spanish fascists originally expected the overthrow of the democratic republic to be a matter of only a few days at most, these marauders now find themselves in the midst of the second year of an exhausting major war against an aroused and heroic people. In China it is much the same general story: whereas Japan hoped for a sort of joy parade to easy victory, it now actually confronts a great war, which even its own over-optimistic generals are now prophesying will last for at least a year more.

In the Soviet Union also the workers and peasants, with even more militant anti-fascist spirit, have completely shattered the carefully built fascist espionage machine which was to have been such a vital aid to the fascists in the anti-Soviet war, and they have built the most powerful military force in the world to defeat the eventual fascist attack. In France the masses have organized a broad anti-fascist People's Front and despite every fascist, Trotskyite intrigue, they are steadily consolidating it. England is also beginning to seethe with military mass peace sentiment, as was demonstrated by the recent action of the Labor Party and Trade Union Congress in demanding a policy of collective security. In Poland the Peasants Party, representing 70 per cent of the people, has declared for a policy of collective security with the democracies.

Even in Germany, Italy and Japan, despite the prevailing extreme terrorism and demagogy, there is also growing a deep mass peace sentiment which will eventually burst forth into revolutionary struggle against the war-making fascists. In short, the anti-fascist peace movement grows rapidly all over the world and is full of menace to war-making fascism.

In the United States also great masses of toilers are commencing to realize the suicidal folly of the traditional American isolationism and are developing (even if still confusedly) a huge anti-fascist peace movement with a program of collective security action by all peace-loving nations against the fascist war aggressors. They are beginning to understand that such isolationist policies only stimulate fascist aggressions abroad and must eventually bring these world marauders to America's door, and it is also being borne home to these masses that fascist victory abroad can only have the result of enormously strengthening the fascist danger in the United States. The American people are learning that they have the very greatest interest in fighting against fascism and for peace, and that this necessitates international action.

The fifth great weakness in the planned fascist general attack on the Soviet Union is that the world struggle the fascists are provoking is not developing primarily around the issue enunciated by them; that is, of a "holy crusade to save the world from Bolshevism"; but on the contrary, the struggle tends to turn around a different issue; that of "Democracy and

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peace versus fascism and war." Thus instead of the fascists succeeding in narrowing down the fight to only the revolutionary elements on one side and everybody else on the other, as they hoped for, what is actually happening is that the great masses of the people, awakening to the barbarous menace of fascism, with its anti-democratic, pro-war program, are gradually consolidating their forces and developing a broad anti-war, anti-fascist struggle in defense of their threatened lives, living standards, culture, democratic liberties and national independence.

IV. THE SHARPENING DANGER OF FASCISM AND WAR

From the foregoing it is manifest that the fascist powers, despite the successes they have scored and the menacing force they have built up, have not succeeded, so far at least, in their plan of isolating the Soviet Union and then falling upon it in sudden, crushing force with a great solidly organized bloc of fascist nations, while the rest of the world, drugged by fascist propaganda, stands by and makes no resistance. On the contrary, the fascist world strategy is meeting with heavy and unexpected obstacles. These, we have seen, are: (a) an enormous strengthening militarily of the Soviet Union; (b) the fascist countries, lacking unity and resources, are weakening their potential strength by excessive armaments and various wars; (c) the capitalist democratic governments are being antagonized by the fascists and may be forced into an anti-fascist war or into a collective security pact; (d) the great masses of the people in many countries, instead of being the passive cannon fodder the fascists expected, are making a most powerful and effective resistance, and (e) the present world issue of struggle turns not around the fascists' slogan of "Save the world from Bolshevism," but around the people's watchword, "Democracy and peace versus fascism and war."

The development of all this powerful resistance to the fascist barbarians and war aggressors is a striking proof of the correctness of the political line of the Communist International. The Comintern has developed the People's Front movements in various countries; it has championed the collective security movement on a world scale, and it has steadily taught the toiling masses everywhere that the central immediate issue raised by the advent of fascism is the defense of democracy and peace from the fascist war-makers and culture destroyers.

Although in the foregoing pages we have seen the great and growing obstacles that stand in the path of the fascists, we cannot assume from this that, therefore, the fascist plot to overthrow the Soviet Union is smashed; that the fascist powers have already defeated themselves by decentralizing their attack and by taking on too many enemies at one time; that the democratic forces of the world are now so firmly united as to have definitely secured the upper-hand over the fascists; that peace is secured and that there is now no longer any real danger of a major world war.

On the contrary, to arrive at such unjustified and over-optimistic conclusions would be the gravest possible political error. In reality, as we have pointed out earlier, never was the

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menace of fascism and the danger of war, especially against the Soviet Union, so great as now. The fascist Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance is intensifying its bid for world supremacy, and it knows that it cannot achieve this aim so long as the U.S.S.R., the Gibraltar of peace, democracy and socialism, stands. Stalin's recent celebrated article shows the extreme danger of a fascist assault upon the Soviet Union.

Among the major war possibilities that now menace the peace of the world and which especially threaten the U.S.S.R., are the following:

1. The danger of a fascist military victory or a patched-up peace in Spain or China, or conquests elsewhere (Czechoslovakia, Rumania, etc.), which would give the fascist powers greater economic resources and also free their hands to war upon the Soviet Union or to develop new attacks upon the capitalist democracies and colonial countries.

2. The danger of the serious divisions existing among the democratic powers (England and United States), or between them and the U.S.S.R. preventing the building up of a policy of collective security.

3. The danger of the establishment of a four-power pact (England, France, Germany and Italy) which would facilitate the fascist attack upon the Soviet Union, and also the policy of support by the Tory English government to the fascist bloc.

4. The danger of a fascist seizure of the government in one or more of the capitalist countries that would throw the balance of power decisively in favor of the allied fascist states, and thus open the door to fresh fascist aggressions upon various countries and also for the hoped-for attack upon the Soviet government.

5. The danger that some new outrageous fascist aggression, such as Hitler's annexation of Austria or his proposed seizures of Czechoslovakia, may provoke a general war.

6. The acute danger that the deepening financial, economic, political and military difficulties now being faced by the fascist countries may induce the reckless fascist adventurers—who realize that the time factor is working against them—to try to cut the Gordian knot by provoking a general war, or especially a war against the U.S.S.R.

V. HOW TO FIGHT THE MENACE OF FASCISM AND WAR

The threat of fascism and war now hangs like a great storm cloud over the world. The fascist barbarians are threatening humanity with the greatest butchery in all its history, by provoking a great war in which all human freedom, culture and civilization will be at stake. Only by resolute and intelligent mass resistance can this catastrophe be averted.

The experience of the past few years shows that such mass resistance can and is being organized along the lines supported by the Communist International. The center of this strategy for the defense of peace and freedom is systematically to take every advantage of the weaknesses in the fascist strategy and to build up every resistance in the path of the fascists. In the foregoing pages we have seen what the most important of these strategical weaknesses and mass resistances are. Now let us briefly point out how

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these factors can be utilized by us:

1. Support the Soviet Union: The U.S.S.R. is the greatest of all barriers in the way of the fascists, therefore, the masses' anti-fascist, anti-war strategy must aim at strengthening and supporting it. The Soviet people are taking care of this job brilliantly by building up the country's defenses, and it is the task of Communists and other militants abroad to cooperate with these defenders of freedom by actively supporting the Soviet Union's peace policy, by popularizing its socialist achievements, by making the masses understand that the U.S.S.R. is the main bulwark of world democracy, by refuting the slanders of the anti-Soviet Red-baiters, and by preparing the masses to give the U.S.S.R. active assistance in the threatening fascist war upon that country.

2. Strengthen the mass resistance against the fascist war attacks: It is necessary for the workers of all countries to give the most active and direct aid, financial, military, boycott, etc., to those peoples who are directly assailed by the fascists, as in Ethiopia, Spain, and China. This support serves the double purpose of defending the masses' rights and lives and of weakening the fascists' world forces. Here the decentralizing tendency in fascist strategy--which launches wars on many fronts--plays into our hands and we must take the fullest advantage of it by developing the most desperate resistance wherever the fascists begin their wars. Make world fascism break its neck in Spain and China and wherever else it starts wars against the people.

3. Build the People's Front: the great anti-fascist, anti-war sentiment in every country must be organized and educated. Fascism must be killed in all its nests. The way to do this is through the People's Front, which unites the broad masses of workers, farmers and middle classes to struggle in defense of their living standards, civil liberties, culture, national independence, and their very lives. This People's Front must be lined up against the fascists on every front; cultural, industrial, political, military.

4. Establish collective security: What the fascist war-makers dread most of all internationally is a policy of collective security by the democratic nations. But their policy of invasions and war-making tends to provoke the democracies into precisely just such a defensive pact. Here again we must take advantage of the loophole in their strategy by bringing all efforts to bear upon the three big capitalist democracies to form a collective security agreement with the Soviet Union. The fight for collective security is tied up with the struggle against fascism on a national as well as world basis and will become the more effective as the growing People's Front movement in the various capitalist countries are able to exert greater pressure against their governments, or to assume control of them altogether.

5. For democracy and peace versus fascism and war: The final vital element of our anti-fascist, anti-war strategy is to keep clearly before the world's masses the true issue that is at stake. We have seen earlier that the fascists are not making predominant their slogan of "Save the world from Bolshevism," and we must make their failure complete and disastrous by

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still more effectively emphasizing our central slogan of "Democracy and peace versus fascism and war," in spite of all the contrary dovetailed efforts of fascists. Trotskyites, Bukharinites and "Left" Socialists.

These are our main tasks in the present great fight against fascism and war—to support the Soviet Union in its peace policy; to strengthen the military resistance of the attacked masses in Ethiopia, Spain and China, to build the People's Front in all countries; to fight for an international collective security pact between Great Britain, France, United States and the U.S.S.R.; to keep clear the central fighting issue of democracy and peace against fascism and war.

This is the peace policy of the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. There is the most urgent necessity that it be put militantly into effect on all fronts. It is the sole path to world peace, freedom and progress. Only along this line can the fascists be smashed, the the democratic liberties of the people be preserved, and the way be opened for a rapid growth of world socialism.

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MAY DAY—IN PEACE OR WAR?

BY ISRAEL AMTER

MAY DAY comes this year when war is on the order of the day. The forcible annexation of Austria by Hitler in defiance of the whole world; his threat to Czechoslovakia and his demand that she revoke her mutual assistance pact with the U.S.S.R., his challenge that nothing in the world can stop the Nazis; the pressing of German troops to the Brenner Pass, on the Italian border; Poland's menace to Lithuania's independence; and Chamberlain's encouraging of Hitler's aggressive moves—these are elements of the present sharp war situation in Central Europe. Nazis are goose-stepping in Austria. They are beginning to goose-step in Belgium. The Nazis in Czechoslovakia are raising their heads and shouting defiance to democracy. Inflamed by Hitler, Nazis in the United States and their stoolpigeons are invading every section of American life—even the armed forces.

Spain and China, invaded by fascist military forces, are fighting heroically. In Ethiopia the people still struggle for the independence of their land. The democratic countries face the test: *Will they unite on the basis of collective security or will they, one by one, yield to the fascist monster?*

This is the question before us on May Day.

In the Soviet Union socialism marches on undaunted. Cleaning out more of the scum—the Bukharinite and Trotskyite spies in the service of fascist governments—the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union rally behind the Communist Party, the Soviet government, and Comrade Stalin, for peace and socialism.

The Soviet government through Comrade Litvinov has issued a call for an emergency conference of all peace-desiring nations to stop the fascist war-makers. United with the Soviet Union, the democratic forces of the world today can stop fascist aggression, can preserve world peace. Concerted action through an embargo against the fascist aggressors would quickly halt their war drive. This was the policy proposed by President Roosevelt in his Chicago speech of last October, in which he called for quarantining the aggressors.

May Day must resound with the cry of the workers and progressives: Collective security is the only road to peace! Collective security must be achieved! Rally America to Roosevelt's peace program! Lift the embargo against Loyalist Spain! Quarantine Hitler, Mussolini, the Mikado, and Franco! Stand solid, American people, with the people of the Soviet Union—for democracy, progress and peace!

In the United States, monopoly capital, in spite of the people's mandate in the 1936 and 1937 elections, is

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seeking to force through its reactionary program. The sit-down strike of capital persists. Determined to rout all progressive legislation, to shift the burden of taxation onto the masses, to curb the trade unions, particularly the C.I.O., to cut relief in spite of growing unemployment, to prevent the reorganization of government departments, and to defeat the anti-lynch bill by filibustering, the reactionaries in Congress are dealing hard blows to the New Deal program.

Outside the legislative halls, the economic royalists continue their attacks upon workers and farmers. With unemployment growing rapidly, now reaching a figure of fourteen millions, with the recession developing into a prolonged depression which may extend throughout the world, monopoly capital is determined to break down labor's living conditions and gains.

But there is a new force in the country today, namely, *four million newly organized workers* in the basic industries. The labor movement, strengthened by the newly organized workers in the C.I.O., plus the hundreds of thousands newly organized into the A. F. of L., is determined that *the economic royalists shall not pass.* Contrary to the usual experience in times of crisis and depression, the unions, instead of being weakened, are being *consolidated.* This is a new phenomenon of tremendous importance. Not as before do the unions shirk responsibility for care of the unemployed. Contrary to the defeatist propaganda of Lovestoneites and Trotskyites that workers cannot be organized in a period of crisis, more tens of thousands of workers are being enrolled into the unions, thereby strengthening the ranks of organized labor.

The small business men and the middle class generally, still suffering from the crisis of 1929 and now from the new depression, are looking for a way out. Their united action with the workers and farmers in 1936 and again in 1937 dealt a sharp blow to reaction. In New York, in Pittsburgh, in many cities of Pennsylvania, the blow was a decisive one and showed that this broad unity in the *democratic front* could defeat reaction.

What was the basic condition for these victories? It was the unity of organized labor. In spite of sharp differences between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L., in the New York elections labor was united—despite the splitting efforts of J. P. Ryan, President of the Central Trades and Labor Council. Around the united labor forces, the progressives, both Democrat and Republican, rallied, and thus victory was assured.

In those localities, however, where labor was not united, as in Detroit, and more recently in Seattle, not only was the split between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. carried over by the A. F. of L. leaders into the elections, but this very split estranged the middle class, and the progressives were defeated.

Who is responsible for this disunity? Unquestionably the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., which continually blocks the unification of organized labor, which rejected the C.I.O. urgings for unity and countered with a proposal calculated to undo all the achievements of the C.I.O., to disperse the millions of newly organized workers. Unity *must* be achieved. The working class demands it. The A. F.

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of L. rank and file is fighting against the splitting policy of its leadership —for trade union unity. In many states conferences to mobilize the A. F. of L. workers for unity are taking place. These conferences must be *broadened* and *deepened* until the millions of A. F. of L. workers will sweep aside the obstruction of their Executive Council.

Into this unity must be drawn the Railroad Brotherhoods. These railroad workers, facing wage cuts all along the line, realize more and more the necessity of uniting the ranks of all organized labor in the country.

This May Day must resound with a clarion call: Break the sabotage of unity by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats! For a united militant trade union organization!

This unity is necessary for building the *democratic front*. Even if unity organizationally may not yet be achieved, there must be unity of action in the elections. If, for instance, in Pennsylvania, disunity between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. should prevail, there is great danger that the reactionary Republicans would regain power. Only the democratic front of labor and all progressives can stop the reactionaries.

This year we face decisive Congressional elections. Shall the U. S. Congress be dominated by a combination of bourbon Democrats and Republicans? All progressive legislation has been hamstrung by these representatives of reaction. Shall the United States continue along the line of isolation which leads to war? Or shall the economic and political force of America be thrown on the side of the democratic nations all over the world in collective struggle against fascist aggression? *This year may decide.*

Based upon the strategy of the democratic front everywhere, we enter the election campaign.

The struggle for the unity of labor is our first task. United, labor and the farmers, who suffer increasingly under the crisis as the workers' plight becomes worse, can move ahead in unchallengeable ranks. Labor's Non-Partisan League, the political arm of organized labor, offers its hand to the farmers. Our work among the farmers must be intensified. They are suspicious of labor and do not yet fully understand their unity of interests against the reactionary capitalists and landlords. In most of the Party districts, particularly the industrial, farm work is seriously underestimated. Even in states like New York and Pennsylvania, the farm vote may be decisive.

This May Day must resound with the call: On to the Congressional elections, workers and farmers united! Unity of action of workers, farmers and all progressives in the democratic front will stem reaction!

The millions of women, half of the population of the country, can play their part in building the democratic front. Women, as workers, as mothers and wives, want security, want peace. The reactionaries work skilfully to influence the women. The women *can* be won for the democratic front, as shown in the building of women's auxiliaries of trade unions, and the stand taken by huge women's organizations for collective security.

Millions of youth, denied the right to work, untrained for modern industry, are looking for a way out. Hundreds of thousands are in the ranks of organized labor, among its best fighters. Eager to learn, pushing ahead, they can become powerful legions of

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the democratic front. The building of the American Youth Congress, the American Student Union, the mobilization of youth for jobs, for security, for peace through concerted action—are the tasks that stand before us.

Millions of Negroes are rallying for struggle against lynching. They are raising the question of all their democratic rights. As never before, the Negroes are marching forward determined that discrimination, Jim-Crowism and lynching shall cease, and that the Negro people shall secure full political, social and economic rights. Negro labor is responding to the organization call of the C.I.O. Solidarity between white and Negro is growing. Our task is to draw more tens of thousands of Negroes into the unions and to build the National Negro Congress as a rallying point for the Negro people in the struggle for their rights.

There are fourteen million foreign-born in the United States, people from all sections of the globe. Nationalism has been stirred into a flame by developments abroad, by the activities of fascist governments and their agents in the United States. This reactionary nationalism, widespread among the Germans, Italians, Poles, etc., stirs the *second* and *third* generations. Fifty million people are thus affected in the United States. In fact, it is notable that the leaders of the organizations of the national groups are not former immigrants, but native-born men and women of the second and third generations. This nationalism must be turned into a healthy channel, into the demand for equal rights and the end of discrimination against various nationalities as practiced in relief, employment, social status, etc.

The Jews form a special group among the others in that the four and one-half million Jews in the United States feel the horror of pogroms and persecutions going on in Germany, Poland, Austria, Rumania—oppression and baiting manifesting themselves in varying degrees throughout the capitalist world. In the United States, as the first butt of the fascist organizations, the Jews rallying to the call of anti-Nazism and anti-fascism can be a powerful force in the democratic front.

May Day must resound with the call to the women, the youth, the Negroes and the national groups to rally in the democratic front against reaction and fascism, to unite the millions of progressives in the coming Congressional elections, for jobs, security, democracy and peace!

Taking advantage of prejudices and ignorance, the reactionaries, in close alliance with the hierarchy of the Catholic church, are doing everything to stem the tide of progress and to split the progressive ranks. The reactionaries have unloosed a stream of anti-Red hysteria. *Red-baiting must be met squarely and openly.* We must make clear to the people that the attack upon Communists is merely a cover for the attack upon all progressive and militant organizations.

May Day must resound with the unbreakable unity of all progressives in the democratic front!

In the midst of the vital struggles of today we see the ugly fascist head of Trotskyism-Lovestoneism. The sinister collaboration of these two counter-revolutionary camps under the tutelage of the fascist agent Trotsky; their deadly enmity to the Soviet Union; their vicious hostility to the

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People's Front, to the movement for the preservation of democracy and peace, brand them for what they are—*disrupters, wreckers* and *traitors*. We have also seen them in action in France, in Spain, in China. We see them in action in this country, in the trade unions, in the unemployed movement, in the peace movement, trying to break the organizations of the workers, obstructing the struggle for peace and propagating a position of isolation that favors the fascist war-makers. Part of the million dollars contributed by the German, Italian, Japanese and British governments for the work of Trotskyites, as divulged at the Moscow trial, no doubt finds its way to the U.S. for financing the activities of these fascist agents.

The Mexican General Confederation of Labor, faced with the presence of the leader of this fascist gang in their country, unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Trotsky and Trotskyism, and demanding his expulsion from Mexico. This clear stand should be a guide to the workers of the United States.

May Day must resound with a trenchant declaration that, together with fascism, Trotskyism and Lovestoneism must be destroyed, and these fascist agents be driven out of the labor movement.

What are our immediate tasks?

1. Building and consolidating the trade unions; promoting joint action between the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods, leading toward full trade union unity.

2. Unifying and consolidating all labor and progressive forces into one single democratic front.

3. Building the peace organizations, above all the American League for Peace and Democracy; uniting all forces of progress in the struggle for collective security, to realize the policy of quarantining the aggressor.

4. Mobilizing our forces for building the democratic front for the coming Congressional and gubernatorial elections.

5. Intensifying our work in support of loyalist Spain and the Chinese people in their struggle against fascism; raising funds for aid, medical supplies, etc.

6. Building our Party as the basic weapon for the achievement of all these tasks: 25,000 new recruits between now and the Convention.

7. Extending the circulation of the Party press and literature.

8. And, above all, in the face of the world attack by fascists with their Trotskyite and Lovestoneite spies aiming to dismember the Soviet Union, to overthrow the Soviet government and murder its leadership—which efforts were frustrated by the vigilance of the Communist Party and the Soviet government—we must bring to the whole American people the facts of the socialist democracy, security and growing prosperity in the Soviet Union, and the consistent Soviet peace policy. We must rally the millions of our workers, farmers and progressives for friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union, and to realize collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union for the preservation of world peace.

This May Day must resound with jubilation of the workers and all progressive people that, under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet Union marches forward showing the world the way toward real peace, real security, real democracy!

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CHARTING THE COURSE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

BY V. J. JEROME

TODAY the voice of the Communist Party is heard across America. The Party's declarations and its statements of policy are read and discussed soberly by all groups within our population, from the sharecropper's shack in Alabama to the national Congress, from the Pennsylvania coal mine to the California lettuce field. In the struggles of the people, increasingly larger masses, by tens and hundreds of thousands, await the word of the Party. In his work, *The People's Front,** Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party, charts the course of action for the American people in this crucial historic hour.

* * *

Two and a half years have passed since the great Seventh Congress of the Comintern formulated the People's Front tactic as the central task of the Communist Parties in the capitalist world. During this period the Communist Party of the United States has advanced in every field the slogan for a broad anti-fascist People's Front. To demonstrate the vital need of the tactic, to test its efficacy in the day-to-day welding together of the American working class and progressive forces, with the Communist Party as the stimulating and uniting element, this book serves as the full, authentic guide.

Well do we remember how the cry went up at the announcement of the Seventh Congress decisions: "Aha, so they've changed their line!" And a host of speculations were spun—vying with one another in concern for Communist purity—from Norman Thomas to Willie Hearst—to prove that Communism had begun to depart from Leninism and Marxism.

But the Communists, brazen Bolsheviks, adopted no apologetic tone. On the contrary, they came forward boldly, advocating to their members and followers the new tactical line.

Was this a repudiation of the old line? An about-face? Earl Browder fitly begins his new work by answering the query:

"Our Communist policy represents a constant struggle to meet more adequately the problems of a rapidly changing world. Every step we make in this direction is a 'contradiction' of the position from which we stepped. Far from wishing to hide these 'contradictions,' we would push them forward for the more serious student as the highest lesson we have to teach—the cause of change, its technique, its timing—the why, how, and when—in short, the process of

* *The People's Front*, by Earl Browder. International Publishers, New York, $2.25.

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history in the making and the role of political consciousness therein." (P. 13.)

Obviously, the Communists do not set out with a fixed, inflexible tactic and wait for a situation to develop wholly opportune to its application (such procedure would indeed be welcome to the bourgeoisie); rather we adjust tactic to changing situation.

The bewilderment and criticism in regard to the changing of the Party line arise in large part from confusion of tactic with strategy, from failure to examine forms of struggle in relation to the specific historical situation —a confusion only too readily seized upon by reactionary demagogues of all brands.

The Communist knows well that tactic can only be devised and put into action in relation to strategy. The classic definitions were given by Comrade Stalin. Stating that the strategy and tactics of Leninism "are the science of the leadership of the revolutionary proletarian struggle," Stalin thus differentiates the terms:

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main proletarian onslaught in this or that phase of the revolution; the elaboration of the best plan for the distribution of the revolutionary forces (the main reserves and the secondary reserves), and the endeavor to carry out this plan during the whole period of this or that phase of the revolution. . . .

"Tactic is the determination of the line to be taken by the proletariat during a comparatively short period of the ebb or flow of the movement, of advance or retreat of the revolution, the maintenance of this line by the substitution of new forms of struggle and organization for those that have become out of date, or by the discovery of new watchwords, or by a combination of new methods with old, etc. Whereas strategy is concerned with such wide purposes as the winning of the war against tsarism or the bourgeoisie, tactic has a narrower aim. Tactic is concerned, not with the war as a whole, but with the fighting of this or that campaign, with the gaining of this or that victory which may be essential during a particular period of the general revolutionary advance or withdrawal. Tactics are thus parts of strategy, and subordinate thereto."*

Tactic is related to strategy as the part to the whole, the two constituting a dialectic unity and conflict of opposites, in which the general strategy proceeds through variable tactics adapted to its objectives and possibilities. To adopt a tactic is, therefore, not to invent one, but to formulate and advance that form of struggle which arises *necessarily* in the course of the practice of the masses at a given stage of development.

Yes, we change our line; but whatever the line is that we adopt, and however we modify it, it is directed with but one fundamental purpose: how best to realize the strategic aims of the proletarian revolution and socialism. To quote again from Browder's *Foreword:*

"The only serious questions that can and must be asked are: What has been the direction of the change, has it helped to unite the workers and the poor people and democrats generally against their worst enemies, or has it helped our worst enemies to divide us even more and thereby threaten to defeat us? The worst accusation that we, the Communists, place against Thomas is, not that he has changed, but that he has *changed for the worse in the wrong direction.*" (P. 14.)

Browder's book demonstrates that the change in line of the Communist Party has worked toward the unification of the workers and all progressive forces of the country against the camp of reaction.

* Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 146-148, International Publishers, New York.

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By unfolding the formative process of the American People's Front, the author refutes the contentions of all who charge rejection of socialism to the People's Front movement against fascism and the fascist war drive.

We contend for democratic rights today with the full knowledge and emphasis that in this precise period in history the struggle for democracy is penetrated with revolutionary meaning. As monopoly capital becomes increasingly the promoter of counter-revolutionary fascism and deserts even the pretense of democracy, moving aggressively against the democratic forces in every land, the people's struggle for democracy becomes progressively the struggle against capitalism.

The Communist Party defends the democratic rights that have been won by the people, in which achievements the working class has always played a leading role. The fight for democracy is something in process, dynamic, battling through from smaller to higher gains, thus facilitating the basic struggle for socialism by weakening the forces of reaction and giving the working class and the non-proletarian masses allied with it a sense of their own power, their unity of need and will. As the basic People's Front forces see monopoly capital's accelerating rush toward fascist demagogy and fascist tactics, they learn, through their setbacks as well as their victories, that permanently to secure democracy against fascism is to abolish capitalism. Hence, the struggle for democracy becomes heightened, and transformed at its acme into the struggle for socialism.

Thus, Browder states:

"The problem for practical builders of socialism and fighters for socialism is everywhere and at all times to find the connecting link which ties up the life problems of the masses of the toiling people *at the present moment* with their largest historical interests that are represented in the future socialist society. They, the tens of millions who provide the moving force of history, must be convinced *upon the basis of their own experience in struggle* of the necessity and inevitability of each successive step of their movement toward socialism. The more they are organized and roused in struggle against the evils of capitalism, the quicker they can understand and assimilate the teachings of socialism, and consciously take the path to the new society." (P. 148.)

Those who, charging against us rejection of socialist objectives, base their contentions allegedly on Lenin, need but be confronted with Lenin's explicit declaration:

"It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution or obscure, or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."*

This position of revolutionary Marxism has, however, nothing in common with the Kautskyan reduction of the socialist objective to bourgeois democracy, with the theory of gradualism which sets up a bourgeois-democratic dam against the tide of socialism. Lenin, in this statement, speaks very clearly of the struggle for democracy and the socialist revolution as two distinct processes, the former leading to the second—as the conditions ripen and develop.

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 268, International Publishers, New York.

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The social forces destined to marshal themselves in the American People's Front came into motion on a broad plane during the 1936 election campaign. Increasingly the people recognized a definite conflict—the offensive of the fascist-minded reactionaries and the mass defense of democracy. Addressing the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party in June, 1936, Browder thus analyzed the situation:

"The world is torn between two main directions of development: on the one hand stand those forces striving to maintain the rights and living standards of the masses in the midst of capitalist decay and crisis, and to maintain world peace; on the other side are the forces of fascism, striving to wipe out popular rights and throw the full burden of the crisis onto the masses, and driving toward a new world war." (P. 19.)

When Norman Thomas, with a sudden ebullition of "Leftness," virtually was shouting "Socialism or nothing!" Browder analyzed the situation with Marxian clarity and sober judgment:

"Thus we conclude that the direct issue of the 1936 elections is not socialism or capitalism, but rather democracy or fascism. At the same time we emphasize, and will always emphasize, that a consistent struggle for democracy and progress leads inevitably, and in the not distanct future, to the socialist revolution." (P. 32.)

Could one, with any degree of responsibility, state that the American workers in the 1936 elections faced the issue of socialism? Anyone for whom Marxism is not a shingle for the shoddy wares of Thomist-socialism knows that the correct tactic at any given juncture is determined by the alignment of class forces, the relative strength and stability of the capitalist class, the groupings within the bourgeois camp, and the proletariat's readiness for independent class action in unison with its allies. Certainly, the American workers in 1936, notwithstanding their forward movement as a class, had not freed themselves from the trammels of bourgeois party domination; nor was there a single homogeneous bourgeois class camp toward which the masses should have adopted an undifferentiated attitude. Browder presented the situation realistically:

"First, workers are interested, it is not a matter of indifference to them, as to which of two bourgeois parties shall hold power, when one of them is reactionary, desires to wipe out democratic rights and social legislation, while the other in some degree defends these progressive measures achieved under capitalism. Thus, we clearly and sharply differentiate between Landon and Roosevelt, declare that Landon is the chief enemy, direct our main fire against him, do everything possible to shift masses away from voting for him even though we cannot win their votes for the Communist Party, even though the result is that they vote for Roosevelt." (P. 30.)

In singling out the main danger and launching the mass attack against it, the earnestness of struggle against reaction is tested. It is easy to shout "enemy" and to make gestures of "socialism." Such vapid, abstract slogans are the catchwords behind which fascist demagogues themselves hide. He who deals concretely with the issues of the day, who brands the main enemy and organizes the people's sharp, definite struggle against him—he, and he alone, is the revolutionary.

The People's Front can, however, not be conjured up by fiat. The working class, the farming population, and the middle classes of the city must become fully conscious, through expe-

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riences in struggle, of the necessity and possibility of building such a Front. The Communist Party, while critical of the progressive trade unions for their unqualified endorsement of Roosevelt, correctly decided, in putting forward its own candidates, to utilize the election campaign for establishing the closest contacts with the masses. It stressed the imperative coupling of labor's independent activity on the economic field with independent political action of labor and all progressives. It urged the workers to press on Roosevelt from the Left for all possible concessions, pointing out that unconditional support from labor's side had in the past made him —in his pursuit of a middle course— retreat before Tory pressure. Indeed, it was progressive labor's response to these warnings that made it possible for Browder to declare in his closing remarks to the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party:

"We must emphasize that the progressive features and the progressive tone of the Democratic platform are to a great extent the result of the fight that was put up by John L. Lewis, representing Labor's Non-Partisan League and the Committee for Industrial Organization, with the support of certain progressive elements in the Democratic Party. It is clear that this platform represents certain further concessions to the workers and toiling people. It is also clear that the intervention of John L. Lewis to a certain degree met the criticism which we have been directing against him for giving Roosevelt a blank check." (P. 61.)

Did events bear out the correctness of the Communist Party tactic?

The answer is writ large in post-election history. The three objectives of the Party's campaign were the defeat of Landon, the strengthening of the People's Front formation, and the building of its motive force, the Communist Party. The first was accomplished to a degree surpassing expectations. For the second, the victory of the Minneapolis Farmer-Labor Party, the Wisconsin Progressive Party, the Washington Commonwealth Federation, the united political action movement in California, the American Labor Party in New York, and the beginnings of Labor's Non-Partisan League throughout the country, are foundation stones of the American People's Front. For the third, we have only to look at the great advance in Party membership, reaching at present 75,000, to note the impetus given Party building by the election campaign; and to join Browder in stating:

"We must come to the conclusion, therefore, that life itself, and the results of the struggle, have given proof of the full correctness of our Party's strategy, a strategy which brought us fully into the main stream of American political life and made our small Party a significant factor not merely for ourselves but for the whole country." (P. 122.)

In the movement of the People's Front, which is predicated upon the Leninist principle of proletarian-middle class alliance, the energizing role of the working class is the necessary guarantee for directing its course away from subordination to the bourgeois parties, onto the high road of independent political action. The proletarian component is the lever for raising the alliance as a whole to the requisite political level of the People's Front. To do this, the working class itself must become solidified. Central to this solidity is further mass organization of the millions of America's unorganized workers and unification of the several existing trade union

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centers—the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods.

This strengthening of the People's Front movement, Browder reiterates with gathering emphasis, necessitates the speedy realization of trade union unity, as the imperative step for the unification of the working class—the proletarian backbone of the People's Front. This aim, for which the Communist Party has fought for decades, Browder places as one of the main tactical objectives which must be achieved in this period. He points out that unity is something to be fought for, that it cannot represent shallow compromise with the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L., that it must be built upon the solid rock of progressive industrial unionism in the basic industries:

"The fight for genuine trade union unity is a fight for the triumph within the labor movement of the principles enunciated and supported in action by the Committee for Industrial Organization. The establishment of this principle is an absolute necessity for the further growth, for the very existence, finally, of the trade union movement. It is a necessary condition for the preservation of democracy in the United States, for the salvation of our country from reaction, fascism, and war. That is why we must say, without the slightest equivocation, that the struggle to realize the principles of the C.I.O. is the first demand upon every progressive as well as every revolutionary worker. It is the struggle for the unity of the working class." (P. 137.)

The international validity of the People's Front tactic can truly be affirmed, not by overlooking, but by taking full cognizance of, the specific national conditions, characteristics and traditions obtaining in every land separately. No one so much as Browder has continuously laid stress on getting the lay of the American land for the successful application of Party tactic and methods of work. Indeed, the Party's policies and tactical operation, which make it a vital factor in American life, bear the imprint of the personality of Earl Browder, the distinct quality of his leadership.

The Communist Party early recognized that, as in Europe, fascism in the United States would advance its offensive through exploiting demagogically the progressive traditions and aspirations of the people, while fostering and inflaming the prejudices of the most backward elements. As in Germany, where socialist consciousness was widespread, fascism covered its hideousness with the fig-leaf of "National-Socialism"; as in Spain, where trade unionism has been traditionally Syndicalist, Franco styles his monstrous fascism "National-Syndicalism"; so in the United States, the fascist offensive assumes the adaptive coloration of "democracy," "defense of the Constitution," and even, "neither fascism nor communism." Significantly, Hearst smears over his fascist sheets banner head-lines of "Americanism." And the hunger-dealing, strike-breaking open-shoppers have banded themselves into a camp named, with unmatched irony, "The American Liberty League."

Spurned at the November, 1936, polls by the American people, whom they could not confuse with their anti-Red hysteria, the diehards remembered their friends in court. What they could not achieve through front-door enactment, they set out to gain through back-door annulment, remembering that of the empaneled Nine but one could tip the scale

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against the people's legislation.

The struggle raging around Roosevelt's judiciary reform proposal became part of the struggle for the American tradition. Were we to cherish and protect the heritage of the economic royalists of 1936 from the political royalists of 1776? Or our own heritage?—that derived in direct line from the revolutionary fathers, and bequeathed to the progressive people's forces of today.

On the Supreme Court issue, the Communist Party, basing itself on the specific traditions of America, embraced the tactic of centering the attack on the main enemy—monopoly capital; of working with labor and the progressive forces on the level of their political development; of leading them, through their experiences in struggle, toward independent political action; of projecting for them the higher reaches of socialism. In supporting Roosevelt's court reform bill, the Communist Party pointed, however, to the necessity for abolishing the Court's usurped super-legislative powers. In the words of Browder:

"Only by fuller, more complete national unification can the economic problems of the masses be even approached; only thus can effective democracy be established. Through breaking down the judicial dictatorship and by setting up a national electoral system that guarantees in life the rights of citizenship, promised in the Constitution, can we abolish all restrictions on the franchise and provide direct and proportional representation in each state. It is towards this more complete conception of national unity that we Communists must direct the thought of the broad people's movement. In doing this we will continue under the conditions of today that democratic work begun by Washington, Jefferson and Paine, and continued by Lincoln." (Pp. 166-167.)

The value of this tactic was demonstrated even before the final showdown on the bill, during the campaign for it, when the rising popular demand for judiciary reform forced significant concessions in the Court's reversal of its earlier decision in regard to minimum wages, and in the favorable decisions on the Wagner Bill and the T.V.A., as well as on the De Jonge and Angelo Herndon cases—all coming during and shortly after the campaign for Roosevelt's bill. Thereby, the Court hoped to disarm the opposition with a "liberal" front. These very victories served thus to stiffen the resistance of reaction, which used them to defeat the bill. The failure of Roosevelt's proposal was due in some measure to insufficient rallying of forces in its support, not only by the Communist Party members, but by the broad forces of organized labor as a whole, and by President Roosevelt himself, who underestimated the reservoir of strength he had for his proposal in the people. Browder put it aptly at the Convention of the Massachusetts Communist Party, in September of last year:

"The American masses are very patient—far too patient in fact—and the President has no real problem of holding them back. In fact, he could have advanced his program more effectively against his enemies, if he had called the masses to his assistance more consistently. Roosevelt's strength lies solely in his support among the masses, and if he sincerely wishes victory he must rely more upon it, as did Thomas Jefferson before him." (P. 239.)

In championing the judiciary reform bill, in stirring the people to revitalize America's revolutionary traditions in the battle against reaction, the

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Communist Party validated in struggle its slogan: Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism! Browder's words should be made to reach America's millions:

"It is one of the ironies of history that the Republican Party, created by Lincoln, has now become the chief party of reaction; that the party which began in a life-and-death struggle against the Supreme Court and the political reaction which it headed, now prepares its disappearance from the political scene as the champion of that Supreme Court on a similar issue. The reactionary Republican Party of today still attempts to exploit the name of Lincoln, but trembles with fear before the words of Lincoln applied to the present crisis which it would prefer to consign to the dusty shelves of libraries and archives.

"If the tradition of Lincoln is to survive, if his words shall play a role in political life today, this will be due, not to the Republicans or Democrats, but to the modern representatives of historical progress, the *Communists*. Today it is left to the Communist Party to revive the words of Lincoln." (Pp. 188-189.)

* * *

A significant phase of the book is devoted to the all-important question of peace, the issue of collective security. Proceeding from the analysis of the world situation developed by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which has been substantiated by events of yesterday and today in Ethiopia, Spain and China; by happenings of an hour ago in Austria; and by the imminent danger to Czechoslovakia and Lithuania; the Communist Party urges collective security as the central tactic in the fight for peace: concerted action by all democratic forces against the fascist war offensive, which is at present raging on three continents, whose flames are lapping at the doors of our own American hemisphere, and are menacing that rampart of peace, the Soviet Union.

The People's Front against fascism and for democracy involves imperatively collective action against the *war offensive* of fascism, the struggle for peace. For life itself is demonstrating in a thousand ways that fascism is war. To be "against fascism" and against isolating the fascist aggressor—is to be against fascism only in phrases. The movement of the democratic front against fascism within our country is thus inseparable from the struggle of the peoples to maintain peace on a world scale; for fascism is war, and to achieve peace is to "quarantine" and subdue the fascist provokers of war.

Increasingly, the realization is gaining ground that action for collective security is an imperative need of today, that such action *can work* to stop the aggressive wars of Japan, Italy and Germany by cutting off their economic base. And as increasingly, fascists, Trotskyites and their apologists, masked as "friends of peace," as *nth* degree "revolutionists," betray their true colors in their efforts to undermine this indispensable collective action. But confusion spreads on this issue even to sincere pacifists and troubled liberals who want peace but are unwilling to act vigorously to secure it. Certain others, bewildered by their own impotence in the face of world reaction, rationalizing, perhaps, that impotence, accuse the Communists of deserting the Marxist strategy for their present tactic.

This is exemplified in a review of Browder's book by Reinhold Niebuhr, in the *Nation* for February 26. The reviewer, who professes to be "in general agreement with the policy of

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bringing collective pressure to bear upon the fascist powers," charges Browder with "lack of candor" in his presentation of the issue:

"There is no suggestion anywhere that the peace-loving nations love peace not so much because they are democratic as because they are the satisfied imperial powers. . . . The fact is that the so-called democratic powers have failed in every significant instance to use their economic power against fascist aggression. . . . It would be a splendid thing if we could stop the fascist nations by collective action. But the time for doing that is fast running out."

Let us clear first the question of candor. Dr. Niebuhr's accusation would be grave—were it not that in the opening paragraphs of the book we read:

"Even those great countries ruled by the imperialist bourgeoisie, like the U.S.A., who for their own special reasons are not ready for war, who want to maintain the *status quo*, at least for a time, must turn, even though hesitatingly, toward collaboration with the Soviet Union."

Really, Dr. Niebuhr's arsenal of arguments against the Communist Party must be seriously depleted when he resorts to methods of polemics so obviously uncandid.

(Dr. Niebuhr's self-esteem as an arbiter of truth was recently displayed in his cabled demand to the Soviet government that the trials of the fascist-linked Right-Trotskyite criminals be delayed until he, in the company of several other candid souls, might embark for Moscow to supervise the proceedings.)

Bolshevism alone—against all the Menshevik social-chauvinists—has always exposed, and will for all time expose, the war-breeding character of capitalism, and place the guilt where it belongs. Bolshevism plans for action; it meets the question of war concretely, by singling out for attack the main enemy of the moment. When we speak of the main instigator of war, only the disingenuous can read into that a denial that war is inherent in capitalist economy.

Dr. Niebuhr leaves unanswered this question: Why precisely are the democratic nations at this moment "the satisfied imperial powers"? Were he to meet the challenge that this implies, he could not come to his absurd conclusions. He would explain, on the one hand, the correlation between the present war drive and the fascist states from which it emanates, and, on the other, the status quo desire which characterizes the non-fascist capitalist countries, both the weaker ones and the bourgeois-democratic powers, a desire which ranges them logically, though hesitatingly (as Browder says), on the side of the Soviet peace policy. A consistent analysis of this question would convince Dr. Niebuhr that, far from surrendering our position on the fundamental contradictions of imperialism, we take note of them with the fullest consciousness, exploiting, as Lenin taught us, the cleavages between sectors of the imperialist world, in the immediate and ultimate interests of the world working class and of all whom capitalism oppresses.

Browder's espousal of collective security constitutes for Dr. Niebuhr a "deviation from orthodox Marxism, which allows for no distinction between types of capitalistic imperialism." Having made this serious charge against the foremost representative of the Party of Marxism in the United States, Dr. Niebuhr, with a sportsmanship that is puzzling, remarks that "it

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may be well to waive that point for the moment." Instead of waiving the point, let us see what Marxism has to say.

Stalin today, Lenin before him, and Marx and Engels before Lenin, made specific and incontestable declarations on this question.

Thus, for Marx and Engels Russia was the bulwark of world reaction—the object therefore of concentrated world proletarian attack. Marx's position in connection with the tsarist subjugation of the Caucasus, with the suppression of the revolutionary uprising in Poland, with the Russo-Turkish War, is well known. His Inaugural Address of 1864 to the First International speaks eloquently on this point:

"The shameless approval, mock sympathy of idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia, the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every cabinet of Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations. The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes." *

This last sentence gives the lie to all who would invoke the name of Marx for their treacherous policy of obstructing the independent mass peace movements, led by the working class, from exerting pressure upon the capitalist governments to halt the aggressor of today.

And in the epoch of imperialism, Lenin pointed to possible differentiations between nations and nations, even between powers and powers. Thus, he wrote in 1915, against those social-patriots who sought to defend their treachery with the pretext of the rape of Belgium:

"The social-chauvinists of the Triple (now Quadruple) Entente (in Russia, Plekhanov and Co.) love to refer to the example of Belgium. This example speaks against them. The German imperialists shamelessly violated Belgian neutrality; this has always and everywhere been the practice of warring nations which, in the case of necessity, trample upon *all* treaties and obligations. Suppose all nations interested in maintaining international treaties declared war against Germany, demanding the liberation and indemnification of Belgium. In this case the sympathy of the Socialists would naturally be on the side of Germany's enemies. The truth, however, is that the war is being waged by the 'Triple' (and Quadruple) Entente *not* for the sake of Belgium." *

Yes, the bourgeois-democratic powers have failed, as Dr. Niebuhr says, to use their economic power against fascist aggression. We have Ethiopia, China, Spain and now Austria, as proof. Dr. Niebuhr states that "inner contradictions and their class structure make it impossible for them to proceed resolutely against the fascist nations." Of course, collective security, like every progressive principle, must be fought for to be achieved, and will not be exactly an achievement of bourgeois cabinets out of the reach of mass pressure. Fascism has its friends

* *Founding of the First International*, p. 38, International Publishers, New York.

* V. I. Lenin, *Imperialist War*, p. 225, International Publishers, New York.

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in every land, the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital in England, France and the United States, who aim to fascize these countries, who oppose collective action to block the triple fascist pact. Capitalism draws back from entering into political arrangements with the Soviet Union. Trotskyite agents of fascism, as paid secret service men of Hirota, Himmler and Halifax, operate to poison the minds of some liberals against anti-fascist action.

Why has collective security not yet been achieved? Precisely because the people's forces, their independent peace movements, the resolute action of the working class in bourgeois-democratic lands, have not been consolidated, because the purposes of the People's Front have not been wholeheartedly promoted by the Reinhold Niebuhrs in America and Europe. Of what use, Dr. Niebuhr, professions of "general agreement," when, at the outset, you seek to blur completely the difference between fascist and non-fascist powers, when your whole line of logic is to discourage action for collective security?

If there is any doubt as to Dr. Niebuhr's undermining of the supports of peace, one need only read the Trotskyite-inspired statement that the Communist Party's collective security policy is designed to have "powerful allies on the side of Russia in an eventual conflict." In the picture of Russia "as a satisfied world power," we get his shamefaced innuendo of "Red Imperialism." Only an enemy of collective security can imply that there is no difference between the steadfast peace policy organic to the socialist state, confirmed in every crisis, and the contingent, conflict-ridden peace desires of the present status quo imperialist powers. Of course we want allies on the side of the Soviet Union, if only because that means barriers in the way of "an eventual conflict"—allies in the cause of peace.

Dr. Niebuhr should re-read Browder's book for such candid utterances as this on the issue of peace through collective security:

> "It is possible to defeat the fascists and war-makers. It is possible to move toward progress, to maintain peace. But to do this requires that we recognize and make full use of all factors, even the smallest, that work toward this end, even temporarily. It requires a drive toward *one united international policy*, around which are rallied the growing armies of progress and peace. It requires the recognition of the role of the Soviet Union, and full utilization of this great power." (P. 20.)

* * *

Browder fuses the principle of concerted action for peace with the main current of American progressive tradition. He carries the battle for collective security into the heart of the struggle to preserve what is best in American heritage.

What is more alien to the nature and the interests of Americans than the folded arms of isolationism, that bid "Godspeed" to the despoilers of democracy on the world front? Hitting at those who would traduce the names of the Revolutionary Fathers in the interests of the uncrowned monarch of Wall Street, Browder brings to life again the eloquent utterances of Jefferson (discreetly hidden by reactionary historians and politicians) to demonstrate that concerted action with other democratic nations against the common aggressor is a principle

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deeply imbedded in our American heritage. Thus, we hear Jefferson saying:

"'In the course of this war [American Revolution] we were joined by France as an ally, and by Spain and Holland as associates; having a common enemy, each sought that common enemy wherever they could find him.'"

Again, in the hour of France's Great Revolution:

"'The idea seems to gain credit that the naval powers combining against France will prohibit supplies, even of provisions, to that country. . . . I should hope that Congress . . . would instantly exclude from our ports all manufactures, produce, vessels and subjects of the nations committing this aggression, during the continuance of the aggression, and till full satisfaction is made for it.'"

And Browder adds:

"What a world of difference between this bold defense of democracy against all its enemies, and the present cowardly crawling on the belly before Hitler!" (P. 287.)

And history has fitly ordained the foremost Leninist in America, Earl Browder, to give to his people the slogan for defeating the war-offensive of world fascism: *Keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world!*

* * *

The Communist Party is approaching its Tenth National Convention. The keynote of that gathering will be the rallying of the progressive forces for the coming elections, the rallying of the American people into the broad democratic front to secure prosperity, democracy and peace.

To understand these tasks, to understand the needs and opportunities of this hour, pregnant with history, to realize the relations of the American past and the American present, reverberant with the movement of the democratic front, it is essential to read every page of this book, so broad-ranged in subject matter, so deep-going in analysis. Its rich content, barely indicated in this review, comprehensively mirrors the complex situation of the present period and gives a clear answer on every salient issue confronting the people. Its Marxian logic is as firm as it is flexible. Its speech-rhythms are those of the American worker. Its Bolshevik directness, clarity and vigor stir to action.

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DRAFT CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

THE OFFENSIVE OF REACTION AND THE BUILDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

1. As part of the world offensive of fascism, which is already extending to the Americas, the most reactionary section of finance capital in the United States is utilizing the developing economic crisis, which it has itself hastened and aggravated, as the basis for a major attack against the rising labor and democratic movements.

This reactionary section of American finance capital continues on a "sit-down strike" to defeat Roosevelt's progressive measures and for the purpose of forcing America on the path of reaction, the path towards fascism and war. It exploits the slogans of isolation to manipulate the peace sentiments of the masses, who are still unclear on how to maintain peace. It utilizes the isolation slogans, resorting widely to pacifist and democratic demagogy to give support to the fascist warmakers in their invasion of Spain and China, and to make preparations for a new world war.

Finance capital, which is organizing its forces around the bloc of reactionary Republicans and Democrats in Congress, representing the Morgan-du Pont-Hearst interests, attempts to limit the powers of Congress, seeks to bolster up the Supreme Court as the fortress of reaction, concentrates on blocking and nullifying all progressive legislation. It is combining all of this with a direct assault to smash the labor movement, especially the C.I.O. unions, at the same time stimulating a fratricidal struggle between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. It is seeking to create an atmosphere of violence and civil war, going to the extreme of direct incitement to assassinate the President. It is demagogically trying to throw the blame for the crisis, for which it is itself responsible, upon Roosevelt and the C.I.O., so as to place the burdens of the crisis upon the people. It—the reactionary offensive of finance capital—is striving to penetrate into the labor and progressive organizations and movements. With demagogic slogans and demands, by means of Red-baiting, it seeks to confuse and break up the democratic front; and, by dividing workers, farmers and middle classes from one another and among themselves, to defeat them all separately. One of the most dangerous aspects of this policy is the project to bring forward the reactionary core of the Republican Party behind the mask of a progressive face and demagogic slogans and, in this manner, to split the gathering labor and progressive front.

2. Against the reactionary and fascist offensive, the forces of democracy are organizing themselves and more and more gathering into a common front. Especially important from this

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viewpoint is the deepening struggle of the progressives against the reactionaries in the Democratic Party and the growing differentiation in the Republican Party, whose progressive sections are moving in the direction of a common democratic front. These forces are drawn into closer collaboration with the growing independent organizations and political activities of the workers, farmers, middle classes and Negroes, such as, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Progressive Party, the Washington Commonwealth Federation, the National Negro Congress, etc.

Unlike 1929-1932, the labor movement meets the present crisis with a greatly strengthened organization, despite the split created by the reactionaries of the A. F. of L. Executive Council. Today, the labor movement meets the crisis with its own program of struggle, with fighting spirit, and with full determination not to allow finance capital to seek a solution of its problems at the cost of destroying the American living standards of the masses.

The broadening of the organized movement for peace, for aid to Spain and China, and the boycott of Japanese goods, the movement of the American Youth Congress to include all major youth organizations, the advancement of the National Negro Congress to the position of unified and chief spokesman for the Negro people—all these testify to the further broadening of the democratic front.

The chief task before the working class, and therefore, above all, before the Communists, is to defeat the offensive of finance capital and block the road to fascism in the conditions of the developing economic crisis. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to unify and consolidate all labor and progressive forces into one single democratic front. This demands the strengthening of all economic and political organizations of labor; the building of the C.I.O., the organization of joint action between the unions of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., as well as the Railroad Brotherhoods, especially in the forthcoming elections, leading toward the achievement of full trade union unity; labor's initiative in gathering the farmers, the middle classes and all progressives into the general democratic front; and to defeat all efforts to split this front by reactionary Republicans operating behind a progressive shield.

3. Precisely in the present situation, when the most reactionary sections of the American bourgeoisie will try in every way to utilize the crisis for a terrific attack upon the living standards of the masses of the people, upon the democratic rights of the people, in order to bring about the victory of reaction and fascism, it is necessary to mobilize the broadest masses of the people around a progressive program of struggle against trustified capital, against the forces of reaction and fascism. This program, around which the democratic front could be organized, would include the following as its chief measures:

a. To protect and improve wages, hours and working conditions, and to further the development of labor's organizations, by defending daily the interests of the working class and through legislation.

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b. To utilize the nation's available wealth for providing work or relief for the jobless, and to promote socially desirable projects, and to improve and extend social insurance and security, unemployment relief, farm relief, etc., *financed by taxation based upon ability to pay,* especially by a sharp increase of the income tax in the higher brackets.

c. To defend and extend the democratic rights of the people, to promote national unification and to limit the power of big capital in the government and economy of the country through curbing the autocratic power of the Supreme Court, through legislation against the trusts and monopolies, stock exchange control, nationalization of banks, railways and munitions, moratorium on debts for farmers and small property owners, price regulation under democratic control, public and cooperative marketing, improvement and democratization of the agricultural and farm measures, etc.

d. To promote concerted action with the democratic peoples and governments of the world in order to halt and isolate the fascist war-makers, to assist their victims and to guarantee world peace.

Such a program meets the support of the majority of the American people. Points of this program have found expression in recent speeches of President Roosevelt, although the policy of his administration is far from realizing this program. The C.I.O. legislative platform coincides in the main with such a program. This program represents the imperative needs of the masses of the people, and the people have not only the right to demand that this program shall be carried out in domestic and foreign policy, but the people also have the duty to fight decisively for the realization of such a program.

In order to insure the carrying out of a really democratic and really progressive program, it is necessary to bring the broadest masses of the people into the democratic front which, under the conditions prevailing in our country, represents the beginning of the development of a real People's Front against reaction and fascism.

4. The Communist Party supports completely this program and participates in the fight for its realization. The Communist Party is the Party of the socialist reorganization of society as the highest form of democracy. As a consequence, it is in the front line of the broadest democratic camp against reaction, fascism and war. The program of the democratic front, which is accepted by the majority of the people, is not a socialist program. It is the program of immediate measures required for the protection of the political, cultural and economic needs of the people within the framework of capitalist society. The menacing advance of fascism and the hardships of the economic crisis threaten alike the life and liberty of all working people whether they be Democrats, progressives, Socialists, Communists—the overwhelming majority of the American people. Therefore, all such groups must rise above all differences of ultimate program, and, by organized common action in a single front, they must win the victory for democracy against reaction and fascism.

To defeat the Tories of today, to

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beat back the attacks of the economic royalists and war-makers, to save America from the disaster and barbarities of fascism, to realize for the people their "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," the democratic front must be rallied under the slogan: "For Democracy, Security, Jobs and Peace."

THE 1938 ELECTIONS

1. The Congressional elections of 1938 will be a major test of strength between the camp of reaction and progress, of fascism and democracy. The outcome of these elections, upon which depends the control of domestic legislation and foreign policy, will also greatly influence the outcome of the Presidential elections in 1940. Reaction and fascism are seeking a maximum mobilization of all their forces. To ensure their defeat, the camp of progress and democracy must be equally united and mobilized. To accomplish this is the central task of the working class and, therefore, of the Communist Party, for the year 1938.

2. The main objective of labor must be to secure at all costs the defeat of the candidates of reaction and fascism. For this purpose labor must strive in every way for the unification of all democratic forces behind a single progressive candidate for each office. Within the democratic camp, which has to be brought together and organized, the working class must itself display the utmost possible organization, unity, activity and influence. This is the best guarantee of cementing the democratic bloc of workers, farmers, middle classes and their various organizations.

It is therefore the most urgent common task and duty of the C.I.O., A. F. of L., Labor's Non-Partisan League and the railroad unions to make certain that labor acts unitedly in these crucial elections. In this way it will ensure the common action of the democratic camp as a whole for the defeat of reaction and fascism.

3. The slogan "For Democracy, Security, Jobs and Peace" sums up the program which we propose to the democratic forces for the congressional elections. This should be further developed with such slogans and demands as:

1. Break the sit-down strike of big capital.

2. Jobs or adequate relief for every worker.

3. Enforce the law for collective bargaining upon the open shop employers; for the adoption of the wages and hours bill pending in Congress.

4. Improve and extend the social security law for the unemployed, the aged, the mothers, to maintain an American standard of living.

5. Break the profiteering monopolies which rob the people's food basket.

6. Guarantee to the farmers possession of their land and prices corresponding to cost of production.

7. Extend the Youth Administration to provide education and jobs for all young people; extend the C.C.C..

8. Balance the budget by taxing the economic royalists; curb the power of America's sixty families.

9. Establish the people's will

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over the reactionary Supreme Court.

10. Protect the civil rights of the people guaranteed by the Constitution.

11. Outlaw the vigilante, strike breaking, fascist gangs of big business.

12. Enact the anti-lynching law; enforce the equal rights law for Negroes.

13. For equal rights, against discrimination of all nationalities including the foreign born.

14. Equal rights for women and laws to fit their special needs.

15. Quarantine the war-makers.

16. Embargo the fascist invaders of Spain and China.

17. For concerted action by the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to restrain the war-makers.

These and similar slogans and demands present the possible basis for agreement and common action of the broad democratic forces against reaction and fascism. Many of these slogans are already fully acceptable to all the progressive and democratic sections of the population. Further concretization of these slogans will be necessary for various regions and localities, and in the form of detailed legislative demands and draft bills. For this purpose, we believe that state conferences on social legislation should be held, as in the winter and spring of 1937, which should establish permanent committees, preparing for a national People's Legislative Conference in Washington, D. C., at the earliest possible date.

4. The organizational expressions and forms of the democratic front will have to be flexibly adjusted to the concrete situation in each state and congressional district. The main types of such organizational forms are already indicated: (a) in Minnesota and Wisconsin, rallying all democratic forces behind the dominant Farmer-Labor and Progressive parties; (b) in New York, strengthening the American Labor Party and allying it with the progressive groups of the Democratic and Republican Parties; (c) in Washington, Oregon and California: building the Commonwealth Federation and similar bodies functioning through the Democratic Party primaries; (d) in most other places, building Labor's Non-Partisan League to contest the Democratic Party primaries (in some places also Republican), and, where unsuccessful in the primaries, to put forward labor-progressive tickets. In all cases, the major task will be to secure united action of the unions of the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods in support of the progressive candidates.

Fully participating in the establishment and strengthening of the democratic front, the Communist Party will offer its best representatives to be included among the candidates to be chosen by all, wherever such action will contribute to the unity and election success of the common front. In specially selected districts, the Party will make particular efforts to secure the nomination and election of Party members to Congress, basing ourselves upon the consideration that it is necessary for the development of the democratic front and for the working class movements that the state legislatures and Congress contain among their members also Communists. In all cases where the field

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would otherwise be monopolized by reactionary candidates, the Communist Party will maintain its own ticket.

The Communist Party will not raise as an ultimative condition its official and formal recognition and admittance into the democratic front. The Party will work energetically to establish the preconditions of such official recognition by its democratic allies at the earliest moment, through winning their confidence and respect by means of effective work of Party members in the trade unions and other mass organizations, participating in Labor's Non-Partisan League, etc., and by the direct work of the Party in independently advancing the common cause.

PARTY BUILDING

1. The historic tasks now facing the American Labor movement place decisively before the American Communists the basic question of building their Party into a true mass party trained in Marxism-Leninism. The growing political consciousness of the working class, the sharpening of class relations and struggles, the expanding mass influence of the Party, and the recent advance in membership recruitment, indicate fully the great possibilities for Party building. The First National Party Builders' Congress, which registered the acquisition of 22,000 new members during the recruiting drive and the setting up of two new daily papers, showed conclusively that in practice we have all underestimated the readiness of large masses to come into our Party. The Congress also demonstrated the existence in our midst of rich sources of new leaders, capable Party builders.

But the present tempo of the Party's political and organizational growth is still too slow, and is far from meeting the needs of the working class movement and the tasks confronting the Party. The time factor is now decisive. The maximum attention and energy of the entire Party must be centered on rapidly solving the problem of the political and organizational consolidation and strengthening of the Party as an organic and key part of the task of forging the anti-fascist democratic front.

2. Mass recruitment must be made a continuous process and activity, an inseparable part of every phase of the Party's mass work. The 1938 elections especially must be utilized to build the Party on a national scale, particularly in the basic industrial towns and in the chief agricultural regions.

Rapidly increased and steady mass recruiting of the best elements of the working class, the farmers, and working people of the cities, must be combined with solving the problem of the education and training of new members, of drawing them fully into Party life without overburdening them with heavy and unsuitable assignments, with establishing the fullest inner-Party democracy and the application of American methods of work.

3. The Party will have to concentrate upon further organizing and extending its independent mass agitation and Marxist-Leninist propaganda in all spheres of activity in the labor and progressive movements. It

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should develop still further its mass popularization of the American revolutionary and democratic traditions, integrating this with its propaganda of Communism, and with the exposure of the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite agents of fascism who must be relentlessly fought and completely isolated in all working class and progressive organizations as splitting and demoralizing elements.

The greatest consideration must be given to finally and speedily organizing a mass circulation of the Party press and literature, to improving the contents of the press, and especially to establish effective guidance for the press of the national groups. Of equal importance and urgency with the recruitment of new members is the rapid expansion of the *Daily Worker, Sunday Worker, Daily Record* and *People's World,* on a scale that would correspond to the growing role and influence of our Party, as the indispensable instrument for realizing the present objectives and historic aims of the working class movement.

4. The convention places before the Central Committee and the whole Party the problem of selecting, promoting, educating and carefully verifying the leading personnel of the entire Party. Greater attention is to be focused upon the Marxist-Leninist training of the leaders of the basic organizations of the Party, as well as of a new circle of district Party leaders and Party leaders for mass work in the trade unions, peace, youth, Negro, farm, cultural, women, religious and other mass organizations. Extension and improvement of the system of Party schools, classes, functionaries' meetings, shall be combined with the stimulation and guidance of constant self-study by the leading personnel of the Party and the entire membership.

The Party must consciously combat the danger that accompanies its growing strength among the masses, of masked agents of the enemy securing influence upon our leading personnel through subtle measures of corruption. The leading Party personnel must be equipped for the task of unmasking, combatting and destroying the influence of all alien ideologies, especially the hypocritical "Leftist" phrases of the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite agents of fascism.

5. The role of the Party as the vanguard and organizer of the masses, working systematically for winning a leading position, must be effectively strengthened. In this connection, far more attention shall be devoted by the Central Committee and district committees to improving the political quality of the daily work and organizational activities of Party members in the trade unions (A. F. of L. as well as C.I.O.), in the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Workers' Alliance, American Youth Congress, National Negro Congress, in the farm, cultural, religious, professional and other organizations, and in the mass organizations of the national groups. In order to contribute more effectively to the building and consolidation of these organizations and movements, and to win the complete trust and confidence of the progressive leaders and all members of these organizations, the Party members in these organizations must more consistently assume their share of all the responsibilities involved in building and promoting these organizations.

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6. The Party shall further strengthen its work among broader masses on behalf of Spain and China; continue our help to the brother Parties in the fascist countries, expand considerably and more systematically the practical and political assistance to our brother Parties in Latin-America and the Philippines.

7. The convention raises before the entire Party the urgent necessity of speedily effecting a decisive turn in all phases of Party recruiting and mass work among the *national groups and organizations,* in the first place among Italians, Germans, Poles, Jews, and South Slavs and Spanish-speaking peoples. The National Bureau of the Central Committee and the editorial staffs of the language press must be carefully examined, renewed, strengthened, and all sectarian tendencies overcome. Together with improving decisively the mass activities of the Party among the national groups, especially through the trade unions and fraternal organizations, more attention must be given to vigorously exposing, combatting and isolating the activities and propaganda of the fascists, and to utilizing the progressive and national revolutionary traditions and sentiments of the national groups for drawing them into the broad movements of the democratic front.

8. The convention calls to the attention of the whole Party the urgent need of giving aid and guidance to the further development and consolidation of the broad progressive youth movement. It emphasizes the importance of building and broadening the Young Communist League as the instrument for educating America's young people in Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of our Party.

9. All leading committees of the Party are charged with the task of strengthening their collective work and leadership, of improving their Bolshevik self-criticism, overcoming all remnants of sectarianism in the application of the Party's correct united front and People's Front policy, at the same time guarding against all tendencies to keep the Party at the tail end of the mass movement, avoiding moods of self-satisfaction, welding still more firmly the unity and discipline of the Party, the developing alertness and vigilance on all problems affecting the life of the Party and of the mass movements. It is absolutely necessary to ensure a collective friendly discussion of all differences that may arise on political or tactical problems in order to rapidly overcome them. The leading bodies of our Party have the task to more consciously and systematically assimilate and master the lessons of Comrade Stalin's leadership so gloriously exemplified in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its world-historic achievement of building the socialist society.

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ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AMONG CLERICAL WORKERS

BY LEONARD DUNCAN

THE rapid and dramatic successes of the C.I.O. in organizing the workers in steel, auto and other mass production industries gave tremendous impetus to the spread of unionization among white-collar workers. Like the entire American working class, they found new hope and courage in the successful use of streamlined organizational methods, the effective new tactics and the spectacular success of the new labor movement given birth by the activities of the C.I.O.

While the trend toward unionization among white-collar employees derives its main inspiration from the victories of manual workers, it has developed an important independent momentum and is finding an increasing scope. Layoffs and wage cuts brought on by the current depression have slowed down the tempo of that activity, but have provided an added reason for organization.

With the exception of agricultural workers, white-collar workers are today the largest unorganized category in the United States. Clerical and professional workers in this country have grown in numerical importance and their activities have become increasingly essential in the complex structure of modern industry and finance.

The present organizational activity of these workers is a direct outgrowth of the changes in their economic status. Among clerical workers modern business has created a concentration of labor, specialization, speed-up, and, recently, almost the same mechanization which developed somewhat earlier among industrial workers.

Of the various groups which are considered white-collar workers, those engaged in clerical occupations and closely related forms of work constitute the largest single section. Their working conditions are standardized and do not present the variations which exist in most professional fields, which still permit a degree of individual creative activity. The work of most clerical workers, however, is almost entirely depersonalized. Engels called them "the commercial proletariat." Organizational development among these clerical workers is typical of the entire drift of the white-collar movement toward trade unionism. This article deals primarily with the conditions and problems of the clerical workers.

THE OFFICE GROWS

In 1930 there were 4,025,000 clerical workers in the United States, according to the Census of Occupa-

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tions conducted by the Department of Commerce. The following figures from census reports indicate the tremendous rate of increase of clerical workers:

1880	400,000
1910	1,737,000
1920	3,126,000
1930	4,025,000

In the fifty years between 1880 and 1930, there was a tenfold increase in the number of clerical workers, which was occasioned by the development of large corporations and, consequently, the growth of large offices.

The growth of tremendous corporations during this period of capitalist expansion not only resulted in increasing the size of offices and the number of employees, but also began to alter fundamentally the conditions under which office employees worked, as well as their relationship to their employers.

The close personal relationship which existed between office workers and their employers tended to diminish with the increase in the size of office and the widespread introduction of office machinery. Class distinctions between manual workers and factory owners were sharpened with the introduction of machinery and the rise of factories during the Industrial Revolution. During this period, clerical work was not mechanized and the employees worked in small offices in direct daily contact with their employer. Frequently, they were members of the family or children of friends in the same social group and were merely serving an apprenticeship which might lead to a partnership in the firm. Their intimate knowledge of the records of an employer often made them indispensable.

Machinery was not introduced into the office until the end of the nineteenth century, and did not become widespread until after the World War. The typewriter, the first practical machine to find its way into the office, was invented in 1873; but its use was limited for several decades. Mass production methods and attendant division of labor enormously increased the number of clerical tasks, and correspondingly the number of clerical workers. This led to the introduction of labor-saving devices and efficiency methods in the office. In the past twenty years, a variety of office machines have flooded the market. These include adding, calculating, billing, bookkeeping, tabulating, addressing, and duplicating machines, in addition to a host of other mechanisms.

The office appliance industry in 1929 did a retail business of $900,000,000. The division of labor in offices has permitted the introduction of more specialized machinery. Bookkeeping machines, for example, post, enter, total and balance like items, eliminating all bookkeeping processes between the original entry and the control account. While originally machines were introduced in many instances because of the need for more elaborate and more accurate records, today they serve chiefly as a means of cutting costs and reducing personnel.

OFFICE INTO FACTORY

The introduction of machinery into the office has sharpened the tendency toward specialization of clerical labor which was already becoming a highly complex activity. In large

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offices today, the division of labor goes beyond categories such as filing clerks, general clerks, typists, stenographers, bookkeepers, telephone operators, receptionists, and machine operators.

Bookkeeping of firms doing a large volume of credit business has been broken down into minute divisions. An employee's work usually consists of one operation or one series of operations. A typist, for example, may do nothing but copying or filling out the same forms thousands of times, or may file only one type of matter into a limited number of files. These are but several of the examples of the application of the factory belt system to the modern office.

The growth of the size and complexity of the office followed the increase in production and size of the production unit as well as the concentration of capital in the modern trusts. Each sharpening of competitive conditions in industry intensified the search for new markets and stimulated new activities, such as advertising, research, field salesmanship, etc., which were chiefly white-collar occupations. At the same time, capitalism was finding it necessary to use more complicated methods of keeping records of production and of the new distributive processes.

The trustification of industry permitted the centralization of management and administrative operations and therefore the centralization of clerical activity. Mechanization, widely introduced after the World War, was able to retard the rate of increase in clerical workers and at the same time developed a new type of clerical worker. The increase in machine operators has been almost four times greater than the phenomenal increase in all other categories of clerical workers. The modern office more and more takes on the character, if not the appearance, of the modern factory.

Clerical workers at one time enjoyed certain special privileges. They were by no means generally applied and almost invariably depended on the whim or generosity of the employer. These advantages were comparative rather than absolute. Clerical workers had a relatively greater job security than manual workers. Vacations, paid holidays, limited sick leave without loss of pay, shorter hours and sanitary working conditions, etc., were the customary privilege of all salaried employees.

With the sharpening struggle for profits these special privileges have tended to diminish. Even company welfare schemes, which were used as excuse for low wages, have been curtailed since the 1929 crash. The presence of a large army of unemployed and the difficulty of finding jobs assured the continuous services of office workers, permitted widespread layoffs, and offered capitalists an opportunity for further curtailment of privileges.

The last crisis not only ended most of the special privileges of clerical workers but also brought special disadvantages. The wages of office workers were generally the first to be cut in each of the successive waves of wage cuts. In those industries where manual workers were organized and could resist attacks on their wage standards, office workers were powerless to prevent repeated reductions.

The developing crisis is providing further examples of the advantages

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which organized labor enjoys over the unorganized clerical worker. In January, 1938, U. S. Steel announced a 9 per cent salary reduction for clerical workers and a month later agreed to maintain wage scales for industrial workers organized into the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Bethlehem Steel, where the S.W.O.C. met a setback, has also cut clerical and administrative salaries and has not dared to touch the wages of the steel workers who struck last year. Office workers employed by General Motors and other large firms experienced similar reductions.

Unemployment reached a high point in 1933, when estimates placed 35 per cent of New York's clerical employees out of work. Clerical unemployment is again increasing, although no definite information is available on its present extent. Mergers and layoffs in Wall Street have affected over 5,000 brokerage employees, most of whom will never find employment again in the financial field. The recent plan for reorganization of the New York Stock Exchange will probably stimulate further consolidations and add to the army of unemployed office workers. They form a large section of the workers on W.P.A., and many of them may never again hold a job in private industry. Increased work due to increased production has not necessarily meant more jobs. Improvements in office appliances have created "technological" unemployment.

Concentration of clerical workers into large offices and the introduction of mass production methods in offices have created the group sense which is necessary for organization. The severance of their personal relationship with their employers and a greater exposure to the hazards of modern economic existence have seriously shaken long standing illusions of superiority or of the possibilities of advancement. The contrast between their low wages and insecurity and the more advantageous position of organized labor has made them aware of the need for economic organization.

CHANGING INTERESTS

The essential role of clerical workers in industry, commerce, finance, and government services has remained unaltered through the years. They still handle money, keep financial and production records, carry out the correspondence and conduct other administrative tasks necessary to the proper functioning of capitalist enterprises. However, the conditions under which they work have created the same impersonal atmosphere in the office that had hitherto existed only in the factory.

A closer identity of economic interest between manual and clerical workers has developed as a result of these changes. There is now a greater consciousness among them of the need to cooperate with the manual worker and to organize for the improvement of their own economic interests.

While they still tend to identify their own interests with the interests of their employer, the sharpening of class distinctions between workers and employer is rapidly whittling these illusions away. The average office boy no longer expects to be president of the company or to marry the boss's daughter. Post-war capitalism has buried the Horatio Alger hero. With the disintegration of their illusions,

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clerical workers are beginning to acquire a clearer understanding of their position in society. What is their role —shorn of the legends capitalism has woven about it?

The bonds which have tied the clerical worker to the middle class are long standing habits and attitudes, social origins, education, and frequently sheer wishful thinking resulting from frustrations of their anomolous social position, but which nevertheless impel them to believe that the commendable in capitalist society, *i.e.,* money and station, are within their grasp. This imponderable psychological barrier has been the greatest deterrent to organization. It cannot, however, withstand the pressure of economic forces which are reducing the status of clerical workers. In the N.R.A. codes, for example, office workers were classed with the lowest grades of unskilled labor. Their basic economic interests identify them with the working class, not as allies, but as fellow workers. They, like manual workers, derive their earning power solely and exclusively from the sale of their labor. Their group economic status is determined by the same basic factor which determines the status of the proletariat, described by Stalin as "a class bereft of the implements and means of production under an economic system in which the implements and means of production belong to the capitalist."

As they become involved in efforts to win better conditions they come into direct conflict with the interests of their employers. They are aligned with the manual workers in a struggle against capitalists. In several recent strikes, chiefly under the leadership of the C.I.O., office and clerical workers were involved in joint struggle with manual workers against their common employer.

JOINT STRUGGLES WITH MANUAL WORKERS

During the auto, steel, and electrical organizational campaigns, clerical workers in these industries began to move. They asked C.I.O. representatives to organize them for rectification of their grievances and in some cases spontaneously joined in strikes of manual workers.

Today, they are organizing jointly with the longshoremen and warehousemen on the Pacific Coast. Over a year ago office and factory workers of the Margon Corporation, in New York, waged a long and bitter joint strike which was precipitated by the discharge of union members from the office. A close bond of solidarity had already been established by the support which the office workers had given the factory workers in a previous strike. Office employees of the Idealite Company in Jersey City joined the production workers in joint organizing activity which led to a joint strike and simultaneous agreements last September, one of the few C.I.O. contracts in Hagueland.

The American Federation of Labor leadership discouraged every attempt of white-collar workers to organize. Whatever organization did exist, existed in spite of the obstructive action of the Executive Council. The Council sabotaged every aggressive attempt of these workers to organize. This was due in part to its reluctance to organize the unorganized, generally, and to its conception that white-collar work-

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ers were unorganizable. On several occasions, the A. F. of L. refused to permit organization on the part of insurance agents. They enunciated a hands-off policy in 1901 and killed every subsequent effort until the recent success of the C.I.O. among these workers stimulated the A. F. of L. to an ineffective counter-attack. Every attempt to create a national organization of office and professional workers within the A. F. of L. was smothered in the Executive Council.

On the other hand, the C.I.O. recognized that organization of the clerical workers was essential to complete industrial organization of manual workers. If they were not organized, the office workers could be utilized as a basis for strike-breaking, for back-to-work movements. In many factories, office workers are related to factory workers, and any strike-breaking activities on their part could help to weaken the manual workers.

C.I.O. AIDS SALARIED EMPLOYEES

C.I.O. leaders have given every possible encouragement to the organization of white-collar workers. They recognized that, outside of the mass production and agricultural industries, the white-collar field offers the widest possibilities for organization of the unorganized. As a result, the C.I.O. has become the main center for white-collar unions and now includes in its ranks the United Office and Professional Workers of America; the American Newspaper Guild; United Retail Employees; two unions of government employees—the United Federal Workers, and the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, and the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.

C.I.O. activities among the white-collar workers moved so rapidly that the A. F. of L. recently undertook a campaign among office employees in direct opposition to the C.I.O. The October, 1937, A. F. of L. Convention at Denver established a National Council of Office Workers Unions, a preliminary step to the formation of a dual international for office workers. The activity of the A. F. of L. has taken on a new aspect and has reflected the desperate attempt of the Executive Council to stem the tide of white-collar organization into the C.I.O.

Attempting at all costs to offset the organizational inroads of the C.I.O. unions among the white-collar workers, the A. F. of L. leaders are resorting more and more to "organizing" methods that are akin to the methods of the outlawed company unions. When a C.I.O. local began to organize the office staff of Ludwig Baumann, the A. F. of L. stepped in and signed an agreement over the heads, and without the knowledge, of the employees. During the McKesson & Robbins strike, the A. F. of L. signed an agreement while the office and warehouse workers were striking under the leadership of the C.I.O. The Chicago representatives of the A. F. of L. provided clerical workers as strike-breakers in the National Tea Company strike because the office workers' union, which was then affiliated to the A. F. of L., had struck jointly with the C.I.O. warehousemen's union.

Company unions, without benefit of A. F. of L. charters, have also made their appearance among office and

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professional workers. At the first sign of C.I.O. activity in the New York Life Insurance Company, a company union was established. In Milwaukee, the First Wisconsin National Bank and the Northwestern Life Insurance organized company unions. Company unions in film distribution, credit and textile offices have been successfully penetrated by the C.I.O., but they represent a constant danger in the clerical field.

One of the newest and most formidable of these employer-dominated organizations is the Employees Fidelity Organization of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Organized in November, 1937, in an effort to combat the nationwide organizing campaign of the United Office and Professional Workers of America (U.O.P.W.A.) among industrial insurance agents, this company union has been built through outright terrorism. Managers have forced men to join under threats of discharge. One manager of a district office, in Brooklyn, N. Y., locked several men in his office and refused to open the door until they signed company union application cards.

In the face of company-unionism, Red-baiting, intimidation and anti-union activities modeled after Girdler's tactics in fighting unionism in little steel, thousands of insurance agents have been organized in the past few months.

An organization known as the American Employees Guild has recently made its appearance in Wall Street. As yet, this organization has not succeeded in making any headway. This "guild" intends to issue "separate charters to individual groups of employees in one concern." When asked for a constitution and by-laws, its spokesman was unable to produce copies. Its organizational activities have not been in terms of economic interests of white collar workers, but in the vague, demagogic phraseology of the vigilante and other anti-union movements. They talk of "an American form of unionism" which will be carried through with "no agitators, no snoopers, no walking delegates." These dual union, company union, and anti-union tactics have not halted the march of the C.I.O. in the white collar field.

ADVANCE OF OFFICE WORKERS UNION

Seven months after the United Office and Professional Workers of America was organized and affiliated to the C.I.O., it reported a membership of over 45,000. The C.I.O. unions of government workers have reported similar growth. Government employees, the largest section of which are clerical workers, are now being organized into the United Federal Employees of America and the State, County and Municipal Employees. These unions have grown, in spite of serious restrictions imposed on their organizational activities. They should be accorded the full rights and benefits of unionism now possessed by other labor organizations.

These organizational activities have had tangible results for white collar workers in terms of their own betterment. White collar organizations are in the process of completing their transition from agitational activity to economic action. The United Office and Professional Workers reported over 400 contracts with employers which

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provide for minimum wage standards; vacations, holidays and sick leave with pay; and a definite basis of job security and other working conditions. A recent agreement signed by a U.O.P.W.A. local with a large credit house provides for application of seniority rights in promotions as well as dismissals. Another agreement, covering office employees in a news distribution agency, has brought the salaries of half of the workers up to or above $30 per week while newspaper want ads are offering clerical "positions" at $12 and $15 per week. Recognition of union office committees has also been rather widely granted and has resulted in some wage adjustments and correction of grievances. The Social Service Employees Union, Local 19, U.O.P.W.A., is reported to have obtained recognition on this basis in 85 per cent of the agencies it has organized, in addition to winning recognition from the largest community chest in the country.

The major organizing drive of the Office and Professional Workers is in the insurance field, particularly among the industrial insurance agents. A secondary campaign is being conducted among employees of banks and brokerage houses. The insurance and financial fields each employ over 300,000. Other fields in which clerical and professional workers are being organized are publishing, advertising, and social service. In addition, there are "mixed" locals organizing all categories, including employees of factory and warehouse offices.

While the U.O.P.W.A. regards the fields in which white collar workers predominate as its primary sphere of activity, it has made its great progress in offices linked with organized industries. Throughout the country it has organized employees in maritime, electrical, clothing and warehouse offices; in New York it has organized cashiers and clerical workers in three major restaurant chains. Unionization in these cases has been facilitated by the contact between office and production workers.

Properly, these workers linked with organized industry should belong to the unions of their industries. However, the constant drift of clerical workers from field to field and the differences in attitudes and in organizing problems have made it impractical to organize them into the same union with manual workers. They are, therefore, being organized into the U.O.P.W.A. until the industrial unions are properly equipped to assume the task and the clerical workers educated to accept this form of organization.

The C.I.O. has just begun to operate in these fields. The achievements of the white collar organizations have, for the most part, taken place in the last year. The next few years may witness a movement among white collar workers as extensive as the organizational drive in the mass production industries.

Fascist elements in this country have been making special appeals to white collar workers as well as to small business men and other middle-class elements. The vigilante movements in Johnstown and other strike-breaking movements have attempted, and in some cases with success, to create chasms between white collar workers and striking manual workers.

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The alertness of the Pittsburgh council of white collar workers, which is participating in the struggle for defense of civil liberties in western Pennsylvania, has gone a long way to counteract vigilante propaganda. During the presidential election campaign in 1936, the American Liberty League and the Crusaders organized branches in Wall Street and large insurance companies with the assistance of the capitalists. It is significant that these workers who in the past were willing victims of such reactionary movements resisted attempts to stampede them into Tory organizations, and in many cases joined only through the fear of jeopardizing their jobs.

Banks, insurance companies, credit information bureaus, and similar firms have been notoriously anti-Semitic in their personnel policies. There are many large firms, even in New York, where Jewish workers are employed only for direct contact with Jewish customers. The discrimination against Negro workers is even sharper and there are practically no firms outside of Harlem which employ Negro clerical workers. The race prejudice cultivated by financial institutions extends in many cases to the employees as well as to the companies. It presents a serious obstacle to the development of a spirit of solidarity between financial employees and other sections of clerical workers. A splendid example of how these barriers can be broken down was the recent election of a Negro clerk as chairman of the chapter in one of the Wall Street banks. It is one of the vital tasks of the U.O.P.W.A. to combat and eliminate these vicious discriminatory practices.

TROTSKYISM AMONG WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

The vigilante movements have not been the only reactionary elements to concentrate on white collar workers. The Trotskyites, seeking to take advantage of the new militancy and the developing class consciousness of the white collar workers, have concentrated within some of their organizations.

The activities of the Trotskyites have been based on hatred against the influence of the Communists in these unions. They have recently been joined in an unholy alliance by another handful of counter-revolutionists, the Lovestoneites. Jointly, they have tried to disrupt union meetings by attempting to convert the membership meetings into political forums for their anti-Communist purposes and preventing discussion of trade union problems.

Their dastardly actions reached a high point during the period of the convention at which the United Office and Professional Workers of America was formed. When the formation of a C.I.O. union of clerical employees became possible, this crew attempted to block the convention. The Chicago office workers union, in which they had considerable influence, refused to send delegates and sent out a circular letter advising postponement of the convention while they carried on a struggle for restoration of their charter which had been revoked by the A. F. of L.'s Chicago bureaucrat, John Fitzpatrick. This maneuver failed, and the Chicago group capitulated and sent observers.

Trotskyite disruption and sabotage

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have exhausted the patience of the membership in those few places where they have appeared. In Chicago, in the elections held several months ago, the Trotskyite-influenced leadership was repudiated and succeeded in retaining only two of the nine executive board posts. All Trotskyites who ran for office were defeated. October elections in one of the New York locals ousted from office all those under Trotskyite influence, including the one Trotskyite who was smuggled into the Executive Board in the previous election.

Although their influence is negligible, special attention must be paid to the ideological struggle against Trotskyism. Certain sections of clerical workers are becoming radicalized and the "pure revolutionary" demagogy of these agents of fascism must be exposed.

PARTY GROWTH

The growth of economic organizations among white collar workers and the development of their class consciousness have brought increasing numbers of these workers into the Party. However, not enough of this growth has been through direct recruiting within the unions. More of these workers, apparently, have been won to the Party on broad political issues than are being won in the course of their own struggles.

Comrades Browder and Foster in their articles on Party building have stressed the fact that Party members in the trade unions must be the key to recruiting. This is certainly a necessary directive for Communists in office workers' organizations. In addition, it is possible to develop a large audience for the Party press among office workers, who are usually extensive readers.

The spread of economic organization among clerical employees and the development of closer bonds with the working class have created a favorable opportunity for extending their activity along political lines. They are now taking part in increasing numbers in the struggles for peace and democracy and in the developments tending toward independent political action, through Labor's Non-Partisan League and like movements.

The union activities of clerical workers are inevitably leading them to active participation in the class struggle. A correct, patient, Communist approach to these workers will develop their understanding of the contending class forces in society and create a clear realization that the final solution to their economic problems can only be achieved by joining with manual workers in a conscious struggle for socialism.

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THE "WHITE" SOUTH AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

BY THEODORE BASSETT

A CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE ARTICLE "FOR A FREE, HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS SOUTH," BY FRANCIS FRANKLIN, IN THE JANUARY, 1938, ISSUE OF *The Communist*.

THE American public has recently witnessed a disgraceful spectacle in the Congressional sideshow staged by the Old Guard Democrats of the Bourbon South, in their shameless filibuster against the Anti-Lynching Bill.

It has witnessed the flagrant violation of elementary democratic procedure, the contemptuous flouting of the expressed will of the overwhelming majority of the people, both North and South, by a handful of reactionary Southern Senators. And, it must be clear by now that this reactionary minority was able to do this only with the clandestine backing of the Republican Party. The "gentlemen's agreement" through which Northern reaction sold out democracy to the slave-driving interests of the South at the end of Reconstruction is brought up to date in conditions of struggle between democracy and fascism. This legacy of reaction, left by the betrayers of democracy in 1877 (the Hayes-Tilden Agreement) rises now as a stumbling-block in the path to national progress and unity.

The slavocracy speaks again, out of the past. In a situation where unity of the nation behind a platform of social progress is demanded, the representatives of the landlords and mill-owners of the South attempt to fence off "their" private kingdom, appealing to all the outworn shibboleths of racial and sectional animosity, arrogantly disregarding the expressed desire of the great masses of Southern people to attain full equality of economic and political status with the rest of the United States.

Behind stage, pulling the strings of its puppets, stands Wall Street.

No extraordinary insight is needed to understand the real aims behind the filibuster: to preserve the rule of reaction in the South, now being menaced by an advancing labor and progressive movement in that section. For some time now, it has been clear that the South is no longer the undisputed fief of reaction; the concept of a solid South is being challenged. The awakening white masses are joining forces with the national liberation movement of the Negro people. Together, these two democratic currents are breaking through the age-old barriers of sectional and racial hatreds, which served reaction so well in the

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past, and are surging their way to the main stream of the growing American People's Front.

These developments raise a whole series of new problems for the revolutionary movement and the Communist Party. They call attention to the urgent need of rendering more concrete the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International and the tactic of the People's Front to the struggle for democracy in the South. In this connection, a most valuable contribution has been made by a young Southern Communist leader, Francis Franklin, in the January, 1938, issue of *The Communist*, in an article entitled "For a Free, Happy and Prosperous South."

In his generally excellent article, Comrade Franklin calls attention to this new South, to our tasks in hastening the rapprochement between the forces of progress in the North and the rising movement for democracy among the Southern whites. He also treats the problem of cementing the unity between this new movement among the Southern whites and the national liberation movement of the Negro people. He stresses the necessity of taking into account in our approach to the Southern white masses their special problems, of utilizing their democratic traditions. He points to our responsibility in helping to remove the last barriers of sectional misunderstanding and distrust, which still stand in the path to the consolidation of a united People's Front movement in this country.

He warns against erroneous generalizations, the loose use of the term "the solid South," *i.e.*, considering the South as a solid, reactionary mass, lumping together progressives and reactionaries. He calls attention to the stupid and outrageous slanders of a Leibowitz, directed at the Southern white people, and the harmfulness of such slanders to the cause of unity:

"Our aim should be to introduce a wedge, still farther than at present, into the 'solid' South, not to help solidify the South in the camp of reaction."

Comrade Franklin brings out clearly the peculiar delicacy of the problems facing us, in our approach to the Southern whites, and correctly warns Northern progressives against such affronts to their sensibilities.

"Are we to scoff at Southern pride?" asks Comrade Franklin. "Under no conditions! We must rally that pride for the building up of the South. The present poverty, ignorance and exploitation of the South violently contradict that pride. We must stand for a prosperous and progressive South which will take its place in social well-being, educational opportunities, etc., on a plane of equality with the rest of the nation."

UNFORTUNATE FORMULATIONS

But Comrade Franklin, in his desire to focus attention upon these important problems—as he puts it: "to bring us close to the masses of Southern whites," makes certain unfortunate formulations which could be exploited by the enemies of democracy.

This is particularly obvious in his treatment of the Civil War, the Reconstruction period and the role of the so-called carpet-baggers. Certainly, Comrade Franklin does not mean to minimize the revolutionary role of Reconstruction; but his undue stress on the negative features of that period can result in just such an impression. Comrade Franklin attempts to trace historically the origins of the strong

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sectional feelings of the Southern whites, their inclination to regard a "solid" North as their enemy. He wants to make clear "the real cause and the real nature of Southern regionalism." In his analysis he tends to attribute a considerable part of this sectional bitterness of the white Southern masses to the "vandalism" of the Northern armies during the Civil War, which, he says, also "looted" the masses of poor whites, and to the "Carpet-Baggers" many of whom "were looting the entire South."

We quote:

"The war [Civil War] led by the Northern bourgeoisie at the same time resembled a conquest of the South. It was not only the landlords who *felt their vandalism* [of the Northern Republicans]. *The masses of the Southern poor whites were also looted.*"

And further:

"*However, a great number of the Carpet-Baggers were mere adventurers. . . . Many of the Carpet-Baggers from the North were looting the entire South.*" (Our emphasis.)

Of course, Comrade Franklin points out these excesses were the inevitable accompaniment of any revolution, particularly of a bourgeois revolution.

But, we must ask, is it our task to emphasize such isolated and occasional happenings, particularly when they have already been so over-emphasized and exaggerated by bourgeois historians? Does not this stress on the "vandalism" of the Northern armies, the adventuristic motives of a "large number of Carpet-Baggers," serve to detract from the essential revolutionary essence of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and thus play into the hands of reaction?

Yes, we must say that to place the question in this manner is to make an unwarranted concession to the prevalent reactionary distortions of this period.

After all, as Lenin emphasized on many occasions, revolution is a series of mass actions, which must necessarily involve all kinds of people; that there is no such thing as a "pure revolution." In his article "The Irish Rebellion of 1916"—a brilliant polemic defending the Bolshevik position on the national question against the now Trotskyite accomplice of fascism, Karl Radek, Lenin stated:

"The Russian revolution of 1905 was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It was made up of a series of battles of all dissatisfied classes, groups and elements of the population. Among them there were masses with the wildest kinds of prejudices, with the most confused and fantastic objects of struggle. There were some small groups financed by the Japanese; there were speculators, adventurers, etc. *Objectively, the movement of the masses was breaking up tsarism, and was clearing the way for democracy. . . .*" (Our emphasis.)

NO CONCESSION TO DISTORTIONS

Not the slightest concession to the shameful distortions of the revolutionary Civil War and Reconstruction period. On the contrary, we must point out concretely to the Southern white masses the positive achievements of this second American Revolution; what it did for the South, how it benefited the poor whites. We must clarify the revolutionary essence of the so-called "Carpet-Bag" governments, during Reconstruction, their social composition and their true role. Yes, these governments, in a certain sense, represented the dictatorship of the revolutionary North over the conquered South. But this dictatorship was based upon a revolutionary demo-

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cratic alliance of the "Carpet-Baggers," the Negro ex-slaves, and the landless whites of the South—the so-called "Scalawags."

Therefore, the so-called "Carpet-Bag" governments were in reality the revolutionary governments of the majority of the Southern peoples. They were the dictatorship of the revolutionary forces, established for the purpose of consolidating the military victory of the Northern republican armies over the Southern slave-drivers, and to crush any attempts at reactionary reprisals on the part of the former slave-owners—to "reconstruct" the South on the pattern of democracy.

Who were the Carpet-Baggers? They were in the main Freedmen's Bureau workers, soldiers, doctors, nurses, teachers, social workers, and ordinary businessmen, for the most part, leaders of the Abolition movement before the Civil War.

It becomes the obvious duty of every Communist, every true progressive, to tear aside the web of lies, slander and filth with which the reactionaries of every brand seek to cover the truth of this period, to conceal its revolutionary lessons from the masses, particularly the Southern whites. We must expose such slimy distortions as *The Birth of a Nation,* which depicts the Reconstruction as a period of unrestrained violence, bloody terror, carnage, and rapine, directed against the whole South; in which the Negro, presented as naive but semi-savage, freed from a benevolent slavery, roamed the land, robbing and stealing, and venting his lust upon unprotected white womanhood. While in the background, directing this horror, stalked the "Carpet-Bag" adventurer, that sinister and diabolical figure, motivated by purely selfish and mercenary interests, a sort of Merchant of Venice, exacting his pound of flesh from a ruined and prostrate South.

At the present time, a whole literature has been built up on such reactionary distortions of the Reconstruction period. Particularly in the South, among the poor whites, has this misrepresentation been accepted as an irrefutable fact. The "Carpet-Bag" bogey-man has been used by generations of parents to frighten, not only little children, but a whole population of Southern whites.

The influence of the reactionary myth of "Carpet-Bag Reconstruction" is not confined to the South; this fallacy has been widely accepted as fact throughout the country.

It is one the crimes of capitalist historical "scholarship" that it has buried the profoundly significant revolutionary struggle of the Negro and white masses in the South during the Reconstruction period under a heap of distortions and falsifications.

We can brush aside the maniacal ravings of a Thomas Dixon, Junior, or a Claude Bowers, as the rantings of admitted Negrophobes and spokesmen for Bourbon reaction. However, it becomes exceedingly alarming when such outstanding liberal historians as Charles A. Beard concede to the Bourbon myth of Reconstruction, by saying:

> "The freedmen were in no way prepared to become an effective factor in the new order of society. . . . They were powerless in the hands of the governing group that directed the revolution and reconstruction from Washington." (*The Rise of American Civilization.*)

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President Roosevelt, in his Jackson Day address, a masterly appeal to the whole country to unite around his program of social betterment, a real blast against narrow sectionalism, concedes to this misinterpretation of history by bemoaning the fact that the South was not left to reconstruct itself, free from outside interference.

Even Congressman Maury Maverick, that doughty warrior of the new progressive South, presents his program, which includes support of the Anti-Lynching Bill, as a "fight against the modern Carpet-Baggers."

The wide popularity of such an utterly false and malicious novel as *Gone With the Wind*, with copies running into the millions, should alarm all true democrats and progressives. It is worth noting that this poisonous novel is about to be produced as a movie in Hollywood.

These crass distortions of Reconstruction, carried over and carefully nurtured by present-day reaction, serve as a subtle weapon in the hands of the Southern ruling classes, to knife the growing movement for democracy. Raising the specter of a second "Carpet-Bag Invasion," and its concomittant horrors of "Black Domination," the demagogues step forward as the "protectors of white womanhood," and preservers of "Anglo-Saxon racial purity." Every progressive move designed to improve the situation of the Southern people—C.I.O., share-croppers' organization, defense of the Scottsboro boys — is immediately branded as a new "Carpet-Bag" invasion, fomented by Northern agitators, etc. They seek in this manner to rally the white masses of the South behind the class interests of the bankers, the landlords, and the factory-owners. They seek to isolate the white workers, poor farmers, and intellectuals from the movement for democracy and progress; to perpetuate the backwardness, the poverty of the South as a reserve for reaction, as a base from which Wall Street finance-capital can wage its battle against the ever-rising tide of the progressive movement.

With this purpose constantly in view, the Bourbon reactionaries, with the full support of their Wall Street overlords, are fanning the fires of racial and sectional hatreds, seeking to maintain and deepen the gulf between North and South—between Negro and white.

The falsification of the history of Reconstruction, the concealing of its real lessons from the masses, has become a built-in part of the whole system of ideas by which American capitalist reaction seeks to justify its rule. It has become a principal weapon in the ideological arsenal of the ruling class and its apologists. It is clear that real and lasting unity of the democratic forces of this country cannot be achieved, that racial and sectional friction cannot be removed, that a united American People's Front cannot be consolidated, without a persistent and uncompromising struggle against these ideas.

POPULARIZE THE TRUTH ON THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

We must resuscitate and popularize the *truth* concerning the Reconstruction period, its invaluable lessons for the present struggle against fascist reaction. We must answer the Negro-baiting Bourbons of today, by pointing out the impetus given to

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the establishment of Civil Rights for the despised "poor whites," as a result of the struggle of the Negro people for democracy and land during this period. We must likewise combat the false assumption that the white Southern people constituted a whole undifferentiated mass arrayed against the Negro and Northern Republicans. It is necessary to point out that the white mountaineers of the Appalachian regions strongly supported the Union throughout the war; that the largest and most important section of the non-slaveholding whites were the small farmers in Northern Alabama and Georgia, Eastern Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina. These were the people referred to as "scalawags" by the Southern Bourbons. It is an historical fact, which the reactionaries of today try to keep hidden from the poor whites of the South, that the first real rights they ever enjoyed were achieved by the joint efforts of the newly-emancipated Negroes and poor white delegates in the legislatures and constitutional conventions following the Civil War.

For example, the State Convention of South Carolina, with more than 60 per cent of its delegates newly-emancipated slaves and the remaining mainly "poor whites," put through a constitution providing for the complete democratic rights of both Negro and white, including the immediate abolition of all property-qualifications for office holding, universal suffrage for Negro and white, proportional representation according to numbers and not on the basis of property, no imprisonment for debt, universal education and a public school system, recognition of the rights of women, no discrimination against Negroes, and the reorganization of the state and county governments to provide for the fullest participation of the people.

It was such conventions as these, in which the Negroes from the plantations, boldly throwing off the heritage of slavery together with Southern poor whites, proclaimed the full sweep of their struggles to democratize the South. It was such proposals as those listed above, the simple elementary proposals of political democracy, which have been spat upon by latter-day historians, echoing the class sentiments of the slave-holders and landlords.

The splendid history of the bitter struggle of the Negro and poor white population for the achievement of democracy, the promise that this struggle held for the rapid development of the South out of its morass of reaction and backwardness, and the liberating effect it had on the "poor whites," have been brilliantly described by Comrade James Allen, in his book *Reconstruction—The Struggle for Democracy.*

It must be pointed out to the white masses of the South that Reconstruction, when the Negro freedmen and poor white masses of the South stepped forward to take their place in the government, was the most democratic period the South has ever seen. That period witnessed a popular mass storm that swept through the foul atmosphere of the South and for a few brief years cleared the air.

This, the true interpretation of Reconstruction, and "Carpet-Bag rule," as the essential carrier of democratic development in the South, must

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be salvaged from the garbage heap of filth and slime to which it has been relegated by reactionary historians. It must be brought home to the Southern masses.

This task assumes particular importance in the present period, when the American people and the whole of humanity are menaced by the threat of fascism.

The fascist danger emanates from the policies of the financiers and monopolists of Wall Street, the real owners of the South, its mills, mines, and plantations. The Wall Street robber barons allied with and operating through the local Southern ruling classes are working desperately to hold back the modernization of the South, to keep it from becoming democratic. The industrial bourgeoisie of the North, which led the fight for freedom and democracy during the Civil War and Reconstruction, has now become the imperialist-monopolist of Wall Street, with its best friends and allies among the descendants of the former slave-holders of the South. This unholy alliance of Northern finance capital and Southern reaction, this modern edition of the infamous "gentlemen's agreement," is the main enemy of the white masses of the South in their fight for freedom, for throwing off the oppressive yoke of cultural and economic backwardness, for achieving "a Free, Happy and Prosperous South."

This goal can be attained, and the alliance of reaction successfully combatted, only through a reunion of the struggle of the Southern poor whites, the Negro people, and the forces of labor and democracy in the North. This is the alliance which defeated Southern slave-holding reaction during the Civil War and Reconstruction and brought democracy and progress for the first time to the South. If the Southern white masses are to attain freedom and democracy, if they are to achieve economic and cultural equality with the rest of the country, they must resume that alliance with the Negro people and the democratic masses of the North which was broken by the treachery of the Northern bourgeoisie in the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1877.

Instead of concessions to the reactionary myth of Reconstruction, the recovery of the truth concerning this period is urgently needed. This truth becomes a powerful weapon for bringing back to life, at this new stage of development, the alliance of democracy, to fight back the rising tide of fascism. Therefore, it is harmful for Southern progressives to interpret the fight against reaction as a fight against "modern Carpet-Baggers," in that this slogan negates the historically revolutionary and democratic tradition of the Southern white masses ("scalawags") during Reconstruction. It is precisely in the tradition of the so-called "scalawags," the allies of the Negro masses and "Carpet-Baggers" during Reconstruction that the new progressive South should find its inspiration in the struggle for unity and democracy.

UNCLARITY ON POSITION OF SOUTHERN BOURGEOISIE

Comrade Franklin's article also reflects certain unclarities as regards the position of the Southern ruling class. A careful study of this article gives one the impression that the author

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is not only unclear as to the true role of this bourgeoisie, its relationship to Wall Street, but that he very definitely minimizes its essentially reactionary character. The great stress he places on the relative poverty of the *"South as a whole,"* including its bourgeoisie, his reference to Odum's figures which give only seven millionaires in the entire Southeastern United States, cause one to surmise that the Southern bourgeoisie is actually waging a fight for its "rights" against Northern capital, *i.e.,* Wall Street, and that this "fight" to some extent coincides with the interests of the Southern white masses. In other words, the impression is definitely created that Comrade Franklin conceives the Southern ruling class as occupying the position of a colonial bourgeoisie in its relationship to Wall Street. The impression that he tends to regard the South as a colony is confirmed in the section of his article dealing with the role of Southern reaction and the way to expose it. He says:

"The Chinese have a vivid expression for their native exploiters, who have sold themselves body and soul to the Japanese militarists; they call them 'running dogs of Japanese imperialism'. . . . We must denounce these people [the Southern exploiters] as the 'running dogs of Wall Street.'"

This comparison, while attractive, is dangerous and misleading. We are justified in asking: Does Comrade Franklin by his reference to the Southern bourgeoisie as having "sold themselves body and soul" to Wall Street, to their "treason" to the Southern white masses, infer that this bourgeoisie occupies the status of a colonial or semi-colonial bourgeoisie? And if so, does it not imply that there is a fundamental contradiction between Wall Street and the bourgeoisie of the South?

The Resolution of the Communist International, October, 1930, on the Negro Question, warns specifically against such "artificially construed analogies." This resolution states:

"The industrialization in the Black Belt is not, as is generally the case in colonies properly speaking, in contradiction with the ruling interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie which has in its hands the monopoly of all industry."

It is incorrect to imply that the Black Belt is a colony; certainly, the implication that the whole South is a colony is obviously erroneous.

There is no fundamental contradiction between the local white bourgeoisie in the South, and Wall Street. The industrialization of the South does not conflict with the ruling interests of Wall Street, *i.e.,* American finance capital. The interests of Wall Street are not seriously challenged by any aspiring Southern bourgeoisie. The fact is that Wall Street monopoly capital, together with its staunch allies, the Southern industrialists, have been carrying out such industrialization for a long time. They are doing this while at the same time preserving and perpetuating all the survivals of slavery—sharecropping, peonage, the special oppression of the Negro masses—all of which guarantees them especially cheap labor for the factories, mills, and mines of the South.

Unlike the bourgeoisie of the colonies, the Southern ruling classes have never represented the masses of its people. They have always been utterly parasitic—first as slave-holders, and now as capitalists and landlords.

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During the period of Negro slavery, the masses of the poor whites were relegated to the position of pariahs, without rights. They enjoyed the fruits of democracy for the first time during the period of Reconstruction as a result of the liberation of the Negroes from chattel slavery and the alliance of the poor whites with them and the Carpet-Baggers. This "Carpet-Bag democracy" was wiped out by the victorious counter-revolution and the defeat of democracy sealed in the "gentlemen's agreement" between Northern capital and Southern reaction in 1877.

THE HAYES-TILLMAN AGREEMENT

By the terms of this agreement the former slave-holders were allowed to continue as the ruling class of the South on the basis of their acceptance of the reorganization of the South, a basis which would permit the unhampered development of capitalism, that is, under the leadership of Northern capital. On its part, Northern capital agreed to the continued monopoly and ownership of the land by the Southern Bourbons; it agreed to help them to restore the plantation system. This meant the re-enslavement of the Negro and, hence, the continued degradation of the poor whites. Northern capital, in return for the recognition of its "rights" to a lion's share in the plunder of the masses of the South accruing from the new slavery, was willing to re-establish the political rule of the former slave-holders and to help them smash democracy.

Therefore, by the Hayes-Tillman Agreement, Northern capitalism accepted the former slave-drivers of the South to its bosom as members of the capitalist family, assigning to them the role of partners in the plunder of the Southern masses, black and white.

This reactionary combination continues up to the present day and constitutes a bulwark of reaction's fight against democracy.

Of course, in building the People's Front in the South, one must distinguish between the parasitic upper crust and the middle group, the small and so-called independent capitalists, who, while connected by numerous ties to finance-capital and semi-feudal landlordism, feel, nevertheless, their development cramped by the latter. Undoubtedly, considerable sections of this group have not exhausted their potentialities as regards the struggle for democracy.

It is obvious that to consider the Southern ruling class as a colonial bourgeoisie would leave a loophole through which the fascist demagogues of the type of a Huey Long could creep and spread the poison of reaction among the white masses of the South. The "professional patriots of the South," spokesmen of reaction, are now desperately fanning the dying embers of sectional animosity, in order to conceal from the masses their role as servants of Wall Street in the South. In this manner they are attempting to head off the growing movement for democracy in the South, to split it up, to spread confusion, and to direct the discontent of the Southern white masses upon the shoals of futile and reactionary sectionalism. This is how the descendants of the slave-holders carry out their end of the "gentlemen's agreement" at the present time.

In building the People's Front in

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the South, the role of the Southern white Communists assumes particular importance.

TASKS OF THE WHITE COMMUNISTS IN THE SOUTH

First, it is their main task to expose at every opportunity the treacherous swindle which the reactionaries seek to pass off as the real picture of Reconstruction. While pointing out to the masses of Southern whites that their chief enemy is Wall Street finance capital, it is necessary to show them that in order to fight successfully against this enemy, the main fire must be directed against the local allies of Wall Street—the Southern ruling classes and their agents.

It is particularly incumbent upon our white Southern comrades to expose the real role of the Bilbos, the Ellenders, the Carter Glasses—those self-styled champions of a special "Southern interest," who are now waging a sham battle against a phantom "Northern enemy," while concluding, behind the scenes, reactionary bargainings with the worst enemies of the Southern white masses for the preservation of their slavery.

This gentry constitutes the "main danger within" for the masses of the Southern poor whites. Without the liberation of the white Southern masses from the influence of these reactionary demagogues, the barriers of Southern regionalism with its accompanying ignorance, poverty and degradation of the Southern masses cannot be broken down. Without this, the unity of the Southern toilers with the Negro masses and the progressives of the rest of the country cannot be achieved.

In the exposure of the Southern reactionaries Communists, especially our white Southern comrades, must point out how these people "protect" Southern white womanhood, by enslaving them in the textile mills and sweatshops of the South; how they "defend" the interests of the Southern white masses by foisting upon the workers wage differentials. It is an open secret that the trade journals of the Southern Chambers of Commerce, seeking to entice Northern industries to the South, shamelessly advertise "cheap and docile Anglo-Saxon labor." The Southern white Communists must show how these agents of the Southern Bourbons, in order to perpetuate the division between Negro and white, preach "Anglo-Saxon racial purity," while clandestinely violating Negro womanhood, procreating a whole population of illegitimate and disinherited mulatto children, etc.

The issue is not a "colonial" South, against an "imperialist" North, but the unity of the white and black masses of the South with the progressive forces of the North against Wall Street and the Southern Bourbon reactionaries.

* * *

Comrade Franklin outlines an excellent program for the building of the People's Front movement in the South, for the bringing about of the unity of Negro and white masses there, with the forces of progress in the North in a joint fight for the immediate demands of democracy. But in order to achieve this, it is necessary that the Communists continuously bear in mind our full program on the Negro question—land, and the right to self-determination for the

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Negro national majority of the Black Belt. They must constantly point out to the Southern white masses that their poverty, backwardness, and degradation are but by-products of the national oppression of the Negro people, that without the solution of this fundamental problem the real liberation of the white masses of the South cannot be achieved.

The struggle of the Negro masses for national liberation is first of all a struggle for the land, for the overthrow of the Bourbon landlords and their Wall Street backers, for the wiping out of the last vestiges of slavery in the South. This means the elimination of the economic and social base of Southern reaction, which exists in its monopoly of the land, thus depriving the masses of Negro and white poor farmers of the means of livelihood, forcing upon them sharecropping, debt-slavery, and peonage.

"It is also clear that only a victorious proletarian revolution will finally decide the agrarian question and the national question in the South of the United States." (*Colonial Thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.*)

Therefore, totally apart from humanitarian considerations, the white workers and poor farmers of the South must support the liberation of the Negro people, from a standpoint of their own class interests, as the fundamental revolutionary force against capitalist reaction in the South, against the common enemy of both Negro and white. Any underestimation of this essentially revolutionary role of the Negro liberation movement plays into the hands of reaction.

In view of this it is important that we formulate carefully our Leninist position on the Negro question. Comrade Franklin's reference to the Negro people as a "national minority," instead of an oppressed nation, is therefore incorrect and can lead to serious deviations from our position on the Negro question. In the section of the article dealing with the Negro question, he says: "The Negro people, thus definitely form an *oppressed national minority.*"

Of course, it should be made clear at this point that the very same passage sets forth the national character of the Negro people and speaks of the right of self-determination for the Negro people. But the Leninist principle is weakened by the author's incorrect use of the term "national minority" in other places.

The October, 1930, Resolution of the Communist International specifically declares that the Negro question in the United States "must be viewed . . . as the question of an *oppressed nation.*"

The purpose of this emphatic formulation of the Negro question as that of an "oppressed nation" was to guard against precisely such misinterpretations, to combat any tendency to regard the Negro question as the question of a national minority, such as the Jews in Poland, or any immigrant group in the United States.

True, the Polish Jews are subjected to a form of national oppression—economic, political, and cultural; but unlike the Negro masses of the South, they do not reside in any contiguous area on a territory where they constitute the majority of the population. The inequality of the Jews in Poland

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is therefore not based upon a semi-feudal exploitation of a Jewish peasantry. They are fighting for equality, equal social and political rights; but this fight is not rooted in the struggle of a peasantry for the land. Whereas at the bottom of the struggle for Negro equality is the land question, the question of the right to the land—a struggle which can only be finally won with the overthrow of the landlords and capitalists of the South, with their Wall Street supporters, and the establishment of the right of the Negro majority in the Black Belt of the South to self-determination.

The Negroes in the Black Belt are not a national minority, but a national majority—an oppressed nation. This distinction is important, from the standpoint of clarity, for making the white workers of the South conscious of the profoundly revolutionary character of the Negro question, and the powerful ally they have in the Negro liberation movement, as a force against the common enemy.

Clarification of the above-treated questions is imperative for winning the Southern white masses for a united People's Front movement, for carrying into effect the many excellent suggestions which are contained in the article by Comrade Franklin.

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CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE Editors of *The Communist:*

Mr. V. J. Jerome's discussion of my article, "American Education and the Class Struggle," which appeared in the first number of *Science and Society*, and which he analyzes in the December issue of *The Communist*, does me a grave injustice. I should therefore appreciate publication of this reply in an early issue.

He virtually identifies my position with that of both Sidney Hook and Max Eastman, and inferentially therefore with Trotskyism. I consider both Hook and Eastman revisionists of Marxism, and I accept neither of their positions. Moreover, as a member of the New York City Executive Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy, I welcome the participation of Communists in the League because—although I am not myself a Communist—I am committed to a principle which no Trotskyist would accept: the People's Front.

When my book, *A Philosophic Approach to Communism* (University of Chicago Press) was published, I sent a copy to *The Communist* because I was eager to benefit by the criticisms of its editors. So far as I know, the book was ignored despite the fact that it was the most complete study of Lenin's philosophy that had appeared in English, and despite the fact that Soviet academic journals thought it sufficiently important to discuss. I mention this now because Mr. Jerome's ignorance of my book is reflected in his criticism of my article. If he had studied the former, to which the latter referred as a basis, he would not have identified my interpretation of Marxism with instrumentalism. For one of the theses of *A Philosophic Approach to Communism* is that Marxism is both a system of philosophy and a social methodology—a thesis supported not only by many distinguished Marxists, but also by a great deal of evidence in the book itself. Jerome will also find that I take sharp issue with both Hook and Eastman in that book, and even refer to an article in *The Communist* as added weight against Hook's absurd distortions of Marxism.

Now in the article "American Education and the Class Struggle," I am not concerned directly with dialectical materialism as a philosophic system. To that extent, the article is an incomplete picture. When I mention the "metaphysics" of Marxism, however, I do not do so disparagingly at all, but rather with reference to the only accurate meaning that metaphysics has: an attempt to discover the basic substance of reality. In this sense, Marxism has a metaphysics, of course, for it starts from the premise that the substance of reality is matter in motion.

My article concerns itself with the methodological aspect of Marxism, for I believe that there Marxists can hope to obtain most mutual agreement with genuinely liberal thinkers. And surely even Jerome would admit that there are *some* points of agreement, for the success of the People's Front depends upon the principle that, despite basic differences between liberals and Marxists, they can agree enough to work together in an effective program against fascism and for democracy. But if they can agree at all, this means they must somewhere agree philosophically: Marxism, more than most great world-views, recognizes how deeply philosophy is involved in every position we take on political and other issues. I realize that Professor Dewey is not popular with the Communist Party at the present time, yet I submit that along with his wide separation from Marxism on many points there are also profound similarities in his naturalistic, functional, frequently dialectical approach. Indeed if there is no philosophic similarity whatever between the liberal and Marxian position, then I should say that the hope of a successful People's Front is very remote.

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In a sense, my article was an attempt to aid the People's Front by breaking down some of the intellectual petrification which prevails in academic circles against anything Marxian. I realized quite well, however, that for liberals to accept my argument would not mean to accept dialectical materialism: I said:

"It is not whether they (American educators) must decide at once between all of it (Marxism) and none. The possibility remains that ultimately they will agree upon the value of the Marxian philosophy not only methodologically but systematically as well. But at present what they especially need to consider, in devising a strong and skilful strategy by which to *cross* the social frontier of new America, is whether Marxism has not less but rather more—much more—to offer than as yet they willingly admit."

Liberalism as a scientific method is most likely to find its local point of contact with Marxism as a program of social action.

I have not gone into a detailed consideration of Mr. Jerome's criticisms, because I am more concerned with the broad issues involved. Moreover, the book which my article presupposes is supported by heavy documentation. I wish, however, to correct one point—his statement that I regarded the Bolshevik Party of the 1917 Revolution as a sort of accidental faction. Of course I meant no such thing. I merely wished to point out that the Party was not itself a numerical majority of the Russian people; it was the vanguard, numerically a minority, of the popular majority. As for the historical necessity of its victory, that is a matter determined by the validity or invalidity of the system of dialectical materialism—a system upon which I did not focus primary attention in an article devoted to the class struggle as social methodology.

THEODORE BRAMELD

* * *

MR. BRAMELD'S rejoiner to my criticism in the December issue of *The Communist* is a sincere and thoughtful letter restating and clarifying his position in a manner which this magazine always welcomes. It is relevant and important to learn, for example, that Mr. Brameld is an active participant in the organized struggle for peace and democracy and that he is committed in something more than words to the People's Front. His explicit disavowal of the distortions of Eastman and Hook is also a helpful guide in evaluating his position.

But Mr. Brameld should realize that it is perfectly possible to reject "Hook's absurd distortions of Marxism" and yet be compelled and directed to some extent by the same instrumentalist method which in Hook's case resulted in these distortions. What I said in my criticism of Mr. Brameld's article was not that his position is virtually identical with Trotskyism, but that his procedure shows "the influence of the anti-scientific instrumentalism which Hook attempted to palm off as Marxism and which fitted him well to become identified with counter-revolutionary Trotskyism." Instrumentalism, which cuts away the material world, or at least relegates it to unimportance, which denies the objective reality of the class struggle, and the objective development which, with increasing class-consciousness, bring about the socialist revolution, would rob Marxism of its rationale and its power. It would leave the movement with nothing but an exaggerated activism, which, deprived of the discipline and steadying influence imposed by an assured knowledge of the objective decay of capitalism, and of the predictable unfolding of new stages of struggle, easily passes into putschism and disorder.

Pragmatism, which is closely related to instrumentalism, has likewise dangerous possibilities for the movement for democracy and socialism in which Mr. Brameld is so much interested. For, pragmatism, in its legitimate enmity toward eternal verities, categorical imperatives, absolutes, and other such lordly impostures, seizes the wrong weapons and ends in confusion and impotence. It becomes, by a weird *demarche*, an enemy of all goals and objectives which can be predicted or known in advance, and therefore, an enemy of socialism and communism. This tendency to oppose communism is therefore rooted in the general nature of pragmatism. When an organized movement works toward a scientifically predictable and unwavering goal, even though it

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is the classless society realizing perfect democracy and freedom, the pragmatist is apt to feel that free choice and human spontaneity are being compromised, and that democracy and freedom will be forever forfeited if discipline and vigorous leadership appear on the scene. Since these are necessary to the achievement of true democracy and freedom, the pragmatist tends to become a pacifist, loth to fight even for democracy, and he proves, precisely because of his pragmatic philosophy, a wavering, undependable, and eventually disruptive element in the People's Front.

If Mr. Brameld had kept this in mind, I do not think he could have identified the position of liberals in the People's Front with that of Professor Dewey. Clearly Professor Dewey, who fanatically attacks the Communists, the strongest supporters of the People's Front, and who maligns the integrity of the Soviet Union, the greatest single force for world peace, is not typical of liberals in the People's Front. This brings us to the basic mistake in Mr. Brameld's article and the present letter, *viz.*, the false separation of philosophy (dialectical materialism) and social methodology. Would not Mr. Brameld admit that a pragmatist is an uncertain and wavering factor in the People's Front, that his dogmatic doctrine that "means determine their ends" gives him an excuse to falter at every new stage of the struggle, to turn isolationist or pacifist—to give up the fight? And does it not follow as a matter of *social methodology* that it is necessary persistently to wean a pragmatist from his philosophy and gradually to win him over to *dialectical materialist philosophy* in order to make him a good colleague in the struggle for peace and democracy? Such questions show the dimensions of Mr. Brameld's mistake. It is bad social methodology which detaches itself from its philosophical base. For, it is obvious that the liberal thinker who realistically collaborates in the organized movement for peace and democracy finds that his philosophy undergoes change and that it changes to the degree of his participation. As he participates in the increasingly complex struggle and becomes faced with problems of a more complex and fundamental kind; as he attempts to meet these problems, his philosophy will develop in the direction of materialist dialectics, if he is not to drop behind, or turn aside with scruples and evasions, or remain forlorn and anachronistic on a transcended stage of the struggle. The real strategy to attract liberals to progressivism and Communism, Mr. Brameld seems to understate and underrate. This strategy is to draw them into the struggle step by step, beginning with issues which most closely impinge upon their lives and their work.

Mr. Brameld refers us to his book, *A Philosophic Approach to Communism*, to fill out the incompleteness of his article, where he dealt, as he says, only with the class struggle as social methodology, and not with the system of dialectical materialism. But this book, though it represents an earnest effort to understand the principles of Leninism, tells as very little about dialectical materialism. It is concerned to prove that there is a certain amount of acquiesence (or faith) in communism and a certain amount of activity (knowledge or science); and the argument for the superiority of Marxism appears to be that it achieves a more harmonious balance between acquiesence and activity than other systems. This, of course, is not a good argument for Marxism. It is an extreme subjectivism hostile to the scientific base and aims of Marxism. Mr. Brameld, we sincerely hope, has now overcome this point of view. The book, it is true, does take issue with Eastman, Hook, and other enemies of Marxism, and even discloses some of the weaknesses of pragmatism. Thus, Mr. Brameld alludes, with apparent approval, to Lewis Mumford's critical contention that pragmatism is "a glorification of the ultimacy of action as such." On the other hand, the tentativeness and subjectivism of Dewey are well reflected in the book, and the false separation of philosophy and social methodology, which we found in the article in *Science and Society*, is also apparent here.

Much that is objectionable in Mr. Brameld's position seems to spring from his great respect for Professor Dewey. He seems not to see, or not to see consistently, how easily Professor Dewey can throw aside his famous tentativeness and experimental dis-

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passionateness when certain social issues arise. If he kept in mind more consistently the alacrity with which Professor Dewey dismissed the massive evidence for the Marxian theory of the class struggle, or the celerity with which he pronounced the Robinsons to be victims of a Soviet frame-up, I think he might overcome some of this respect. If he focused his attention more firmly on the realities of the class struggle all over the world, I think he would cease to call it a "hypothesis" and that even the liberal Columbia professors could be won more surely by an appeal on specific issues than by the methodological disquisition which Mr. Brameld employs. As Mr. Brameld recedes from the tentativeness, the irresponsible experimentalism and pragmatism of Professor Dewey, I believe that, given his undoubted ability and his serious participation in the progressive movement, he will heighten his contributions through an enriched understanding of Marxism.

V. J. JEROME.

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